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Page 40, line 13, *for* H. *read* A.
Page 54, line 8, *for* Jacob *read* Job.
Page 56, line 7, *for* Vicente *read* Victor.
Page 56, line 8, *for* in the southern part of *read* immediately south of.
Page 73, line 32, *for* Wector *read* Wecter.
Page 174, note 276, *for* miles of Covelo *read* miles north of Covelo.
Page 221, line 16, *for* band *read* bank.
Pages 222-30 *passim*, *for* Contraras *read* Contreras.
Page 226, line 4 (from foot), *for* Smith *read* Schmidt.
Page 227, after line 31, insert omitted line:
    Oakland on Antonio's division; Temescal, Piedmont, Emeryville and part of
Page 230, line 5, *for* Burell *read* Burrell.
Page 230, line 1 of note 47, *for* 20 *read* 26.
Page 230, line 5 (from foot), *for* wall *read* well.
Page 247, line 17 (from foot), *for* tenth *read* thirtieth.
Page 247, bottom line, *for* October *read* November.
Page 252, line 17 (from foot), *for* Joseph *read* Josiah.
Facing page 289 (group picture), *for* Turnball *read* Turnbull
Page 363, line 14, and page 367, lines 7 and 8 (from foot), *for* Lowey *read* Loewy.

ABANDONED PORTION OF THE OLD THORN ROAD

From a recent photograph

The Forgotten Redwoods of the East Bay

By Sherwood D. Burgess

HISTORIES of the Oakland area often begin in 1850 with the real-estate manipulations of Horace W. Carpentier, E. Adams and A. J. Moon and with only brief mention of logging operations in the redwoods of the East Bay hills. In general, local historians assumed that the Oakland area's original purpose was to be a vast realty tract which would serve as bedroom to San Francisco. This puts the emphasis in the wrong place. At least ten years before the advent of the realty speculators, loggers were hauling their loads from the East Bay hills to the embarcadero of San Antonio, in what is now East Oakland. Except for short periods, this logging business increased, until, about the period of the gold rush, we find San Antonio a busy lumber port. In the decade of the 1840's, such names as John Sutter, Nathan Spear, William Leidesdorff, Elam Brown, and Harry Meiggs were associated with East Bay lumbering, and for nearly a decade after 1850 the economic life of the area centered in the hills. The smoke from steam sawmills shrouded the skyline and drifted through the canyons, and the roads which were built from mill to market constituted a major segment of the road-network of the East Bay. Lumber passed over them to every section of present Alameda and Contra Costa counties, the surplus being shipped through San Antonio and Oakland at least as far as Sacramento.

As one views the rather small second-growth redwoods in the Oakland hills of today, it is difficult to imagine the extent of the, presumably, original forest. It covered an irregularly shaped area about three and a half miles long and from one-half to two miles wide, from the western slopes of the East Oakland hills almost to Moraga Valley.[1] In this small but dense grove stood redwoods as large, or larger, than any in the Coast Range. Some of the trees measured 32 ft. in diameter and were over 300 ft. tall, while the average diameter was from 12 to 20 ft.[2] Dr. William Gibbons, who had been in the redwoods as a youth, wrote in 1893:

> . . . the Oakland Hills being exposed immediately to the influences of the sea winds and fogs, bear—or at least once bore—a group of redwood trees about five miles square. . . . This isolated group at one time included some of the most gigantic trees of the species. But for the sad havoc wrought there forty years ago by lumbermen and wood choppers, these Oakland Hills at the point indicated might still have presented one of the noblest natural parks conceivable. . . .

As to nomenclature, before 1849 the entire forest was known as the San Antonio redwoods, deriving its name from the Peralta brothers' Rancho San Antonio. During the American period, three distinct areas were recognized: the designation "San Antonio redwoods" became limited to the section of the forest on the skyline and western slopes of the hills; the area in the canyon formed by Redwood Creek, now Redwood Regional Park, was known as the "middle redwoods"; and farther east, in the canyon of upper San Leandro Creek, were the "Moraga redwoods."[3]

THE PERIOD FROM 1776 TO 1846

The East Bay redwoods were first discovered on April 1, 1776, by Juan Bautista de Anza's expedition. Though Pedro Fages had been in the region in 1770 and 1772, he traveled quite close to the bay, and fog probably obscured the woods. However, both Anza and Pedro Font mention sighting the forest from a position slightly north of present Mills College, and when Font climbed a hill to make his map of San Leandro Bay and Alameda he must have been in or very near the lower fringes of the redwoods.[4]

A few weeks later, the navigator José de Cañizares mapped the bay area for a second time, and this map of 1776 clearly showed the East Bay redwoods in their proper location. Probably soldiers and padres from the newly established presidio and mission across the bay had visited the forest and given Cañizares a description of its location and size.[5]

There is no evidence that East Bay redwoods played any part in the construction of the mission or presidio of San Francisco,[6] but they did supply the main timbers for the permanent buildings of Mission San Jose.[7] As these buildings took about a decade to complete, it is probable that the first redwood logging in the East Bay began shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century and continued, for some years, to be of importance to the mission, for in 1820 Father Duran's assent to the Peralta grant, to the north, contained the following proviso: "In behalf of the Missions, I say that there is no objection to grant to the petitioner the place he asks for, but the Creek of San Leandro, where launches are harboured in summer, must at all times be at the disposal of the Missions, and the cutting of wood comprehended in the place asked for must remain in common. . . ."[8] This grant made Luis Peralta the first owner of the western portion of the redwoods. In a subsequent division of the ranch among four sons, Antonio Peralta received most of the present area of East Oakland, including the forest lands.[9] Joaquín Moraga had obtained possession in 1841 of the eastern area of the redwoods as part of his rancho Laguna de los Palos Colorados.[10] The portion between the Peralta and Moraga ranchos remained public land, its trees comprising the middle redwoods, as mentioned above.

A more benign use of the redwoods (from the trees' point of view) was as navigational landmarks. Captain F. W. Beechey of the royal navy says in his journal of 1826 (six years after the Peralta grant was made) that a ship upon entering the bay should, in order to miss treacherous Blossom Rock, line up the northern tip of Yerba Buena Island with ". . . two trees (nearly the last of the straggleing [*sic*] ones) south of Palos Colorados, a wood of pines situated on top of the hill, over San Antonio, too conspicuous to be overlooked."[11] This shows the size of at least two of the trees—that they could be "conspicuous" from the Golden Gate, some sixteen miles distant.

Elsewhere in central California, redwood lumber was entering into commerce. In 1827 the Russians exported it from Fort Ross,[12] and in 1829 Monterey redwood was shipped to the Sandwich Islands.[13] The following year saw the expansion of lumbering in the Santa Cruz area, from which redwood was constantly shipped to the Islands, where it was in great demand at $50 to $60 per 1000 bd. ft.[14] But such commercially minded men as Alfred Robinson, Jedediah Smith and Duhaut-Cilly, who traveled in the East Bay in the late 1820's, made no mention of stands of redwood there.[15] Some foreigner may have begun logging in the San Antonio woods in 1834. In May of that year, the assembly at Monterey received a complaint from the comandante of the presidio in San Francisco that foreigners were destroying the forests within his jurisdiction.[16] He may have been referring either to the San Mateo or the San Antonio woods, or both.

We do, however, have definite records that foreigners were logging in the East Bay hills in 1840. In that year an Irishman, George Patterson, deserted the English barque *Columbia* in San Francisco harbor, and went to the San Antonio redwoods where he worked with John Parker, a recent deserter from the English vessel *Sulphur*. Patterson and Parker sold their lumber to John A. Sutter, who had recently settled in the Sacramento Valley and had not yet established his own sawmills in the Sierra.[17] Two years later, Patterson was joined by another Englishman, Harry J. Bee, who had jumped ship in 1830. Bee had had experience in the Santa Cruz woods, and had worked for Sutter for two years before joining Patterson.[18] French deserters also tried their hand in the East Bay groves, according to Duflot de Mofras who was traveling in the vicinity of the bay in the summer of 1841:

> . . . A range of hills 2 or 3 leagues inland from the shore parallels the coast, ending at point San Pablo. Some of its peaks are nearly 600 meters in height, and are crowned by magnificent red pines, *palos colorados*. Two French carpenters, Mm. Sicard and Leroy, are exploiting these woods to good profit. The various streams that descend from the mountains are navigable by small boats that take on loads of planks and timber; most of this lumber is sent over to the opposite coast to the small village of Yerba Buena, which has no wood for building purposes.[19]

There, he said, Nathan Spear and Capt. William S. Hinckley had a sawmill which turned out shingles and planks.[20] With but twenty houses in Yerba Buena,[21] the "exploiting" must have been greater than the local demand, for in a letter from Capt. John Paty to Thomas Larkin, Paty stated that unless Larkin had lumber for him at Santa Cruz, he would ship to the Sandwich Islands a considerable quantity on hand at Yerba Buena.[22]

After 1842, the demand for East Bay lumber temporarily ceased. Sutter had erected mills in the Sierra and now owned the former Russian establishment with its timber resources. Near Santa Cruz, logging operations had greatly expanded and probably made that lumber less expensive than the East Bay product, to purchasers abroad and on the coast: for example, Yerba Buena was importing, mostly from Santa Cruz, the little lumber that it needed.[23] Also, at this time, the Peraltas were objecting to the cutting of their forest. The Peralta deed of 1844, which reaffirmed the original grant, contained a provision allowing the Peraltas' neighbors to cut lumber on the rancho for their personal use, but not for commercial purposes.[24] Whatever the cause, or causes, of the decline, lumbering nearly ceased in the San Antonio redwoods between late 1842 and 1846. Sicard and Patterson went to Sutter's Fort; Bee settled in Yerba Buena; and Leroy and Parker passed into historical oblivion.[25] A few unrecorded woodsmen may have been in the forest during this period. Patterson returned before 1846, and there was a "Frenchman," possibly Leroy, in the woods upon the arrival of the first Americans early in that year.

A NEW TYPE OF WOODSMAN ENTERS THE FOREST

The year 1846 made a break with the past in the San Antonio redwoods. Not only did activity increase, but multi-nationality seamen and adventurers were displaced by American immigrants, many of whom brought their families and later became state and community leaders. The vanguard of the American loggers was composed of Napoleon Bonapart Smith, his brother Henry Clay Smith, and a friend William Mendenhall, all natives of Ohio, who had reached Sutter's Fort, overland, on Christmas day 1845. After a short rest, they proceeded to Yerba Buena and then headed for the redwoods. Before reaching their destination, they were stopped by two Spaniards, who examined their passports and demanded that they return to Yerba Buena. The order was obeyed until the Spaniards were out of sight, after which the trio continued to the woods where they met a Frenchman and were instructed in logging. About four months later they were startled by twenty "Spanish soldiers," who had come to drive them from the forest. Rather than allow the East Bay hills to become a bloody battlefield, with *their* blood, the three Americans made a withdrawal eastward until they reached Sutter's Fort. Here they learned of the Bear Flag revolt and served under Frémont. Upon the capitulation, at Cahuenga, the three again started for the redwoods, but were detained at Santa Clara by the fighting around that place—and by Cupid. They met Elam Brown at Santa Clara. He had just arrived in California, and among his children was Margelina. This is where Cupid came in, successfully, for Margelina was united in marriage to Napoleon Smith, his brother Henry also winning a bride, Mary van Gordon.[26]

At the end of the Bear Flag episode, the Browns and Smiths set out for the San Antonio redwoods, where, within the past year, five other families had settled.[27] During the summer and fall of 1847, Brown and his party whipsawed lumber and hauled it to the embarcadero of San Antonio, at the present foot of Fourteenth Avenue, from which it was shipped to San Francisco. In this way, Brown had met William A. Leidesdorff, who sold him his Rancho Acalanes, on which stands present-day Lafayette. During November 1847, Brown hauled lumber from the Moraga redwoods to his new homesite.[28] Subsequently, Nathaniel Jones, later sheriff of Contra Costa County, bought part of Acalanes from Brown for $100, which he had earned in the redwoods during the summer of 1847.[29]

The Harlan family was also in the San Antonio woods in 1847. Jacob Harlan, with a helper, Richard Swift, spent a month in the forest that summer making 15,000 shingles from a single tree. These he had hauled to San Antonio and shipped to Leidesdorff in San Francisco at $5 per 1000, clearing $50. In another venture—cutting fence rails for Leidesdorff—Harlan, with his cousin Joel, hauled his own lumber and netted $500.[30]

Although it is impossible to estimate the amount of lumber shipped to San Francisco from the East Bay in 1847, it was not sufficient to saturate the expanding market. All during this year, the Santa Cruz grove and the Bodega mills shipped lumber to San Francisco at about $30 per 1000 bd. ft.[31]

By the summer of 1848, silence had again settled upon the woods. Picking nuggets from the streams of the Sierra had become a more popular means of making a fortune than sawing redwoods, and, except for an occasional rancher sawing lumber for his own use,[32] only wind and fog moved among the abandoned shacks and rusting equipment. But not for long. The very gold rush that gave the grove its short respite was to transform the sleepy pre-1847 "Yerba Buena" into a lusty and inflammable San Francisco, and was to dot the ranchos of the "contra costa" with numerous towns. This resulted in an overwhelming demand for lumber, the price of which skyrocketed to $350-$600 per 1000 bd. ft.[33] Soon many a disillusioned miner was hurrying back to the redwoods in the East Bay hills, which by early 1849 were witnessing a new peak of activity. In that year Harry Meiggs, well known, by then, as a San Francisco lumberman, sent a small army of loggers to the San Antonio woods and reportedly made a half-million dollars from the operation.[34]

Many of the loggers in 1849 were amateurs from San Francisco. They had intended to start a business or profession, but had found the cost of building homes so prohibitive that they shouldered an axe and went to the redwoods to cut their own lumber. One of them was the Rev. William Taylor, who came to San Francisco to establish the Methodist Church. He soon found that his salary would not permit him to pay $400 per month rent for a home; and the cost of lumber precluded his building a house. A week in the redwoods, trying to make boards, ended in failure, but a second try was more successful, because he concentrated on the lighter task of making shingles. These he traded with more robust loggers for timbers and planks, which were shipped to his homesite in San Francisco. While in the woods, Taylor plied his profession of minister, giving spiritual advice and visiting the sick. He wrote in his diary on Sunday, October 21, 1849:

> For retirement and meditation I have strolled out to the top of a high hill. The sky is clear as crystal, and the sun is shining with a California radiance, unknown in other lands.... Looking eastward I see a dense forest of huge redwood timber; doubtless the veritable cedars of Lebanon. West and north, hills and mountains stretch to the uttermost line of the ken of vision, and the scene, in its barrenness and sterility of appearance, is only relieved here and there by a small oasis, and by the herds of cattle feeding on the dry grass. Southward the whole valley, for fifty miles, is filled with fog. It looks as though a firmament of white broken clouds had dropped from the heavens, and settled over the whole region of the Bay of San Francisco and its adjacent vales. . . . A little to my right are two graves. There sleep the dust and buried hopes of two California adventurers....

A short time later, on the same morning, Taylor stood at the base of a huge redwood tree near the skyline and preached the first Protestant sermon in the Oakland area to some twenty-five loggers—a statistically important congregation.[35]

In 1849, lumber from the western slopes of the hills was shipped, as before, to San Francisco through the lumber port at San Antonio. Roads wound down from the woods to the gap in the Piedmont Hills, now known as Dimond Canyon. After passing through the canyon, the road ascended the ridge leading directly to the embarcadero, along the route followed today by Park Boulevard and Thirteenth Avenue.[36] The year 1849 also saw intense activity in the Moraga redwoods. As early as February 1848, loggers had been selling lumber to Dr. Robert Semple, who shipped it across Suisun Bay to his newly founded town of Benicia;[36a] but by 1849 most of the lumber was going to Martinez, while the balance was used by farms and ranches. Teams bound for Martinez closely followed the present Jonah Hill road from the redwoods to Lafayette and the old road from that town to Walnut Creek, where it intersected the Martinez-San Jose road.[37] The lumber traffic along this route caused the development of Lafayette, which was a resting-point on the long trip to Martinez and where ". . . the thoroughfares were lined with teams from the redwoods, whose drivers spent their hard earned money with reckless profusion."[38]

The total population of the East Bay woods in late 1849 must have been in excess of a hundred, if, in one small area, over twenty-five loggers attended church. From the distribution of the East Bay election precincts in November 1849, it appears that the bulk of the population was engaged in the lumber business. Of three precincts, one was in the Moraga redwoods, one at the lumber port of San Antonio, and the third at Martinez.[39] Despite the on-and-off logging of at least a decade, the close of 1849 found the East Bay grove essentially undamaged, for the navigational charts of the day still used the "palo colorado" as a reference point.[40]

STEAM SAWMILLS, ELECTION PRECINCTS–AND A SEA OF STUMPS

Early 1850 saw the operation of the first steam sawmills in the East Bay forest, and the gradual departure of the inefficient individual whipsawyer. These mills were very efficient and very thorough. In 1860 not a single giant redwood graced the hills.

An unknown Frenchman had begun construction of a steam-run mill in the westernmost edge of the forest in late 1849. It was located on Palo Seco Creek, a short distance above Dimond Canyon, where a dense second growth of woods can be seen today from Mountain Boulevard. Before its completion, the mill passed into the hands of the aforementioned Harry Meiggs, and was later sold to Volney Moody, who became a banker in Oakland. By the fall of 1852, Daniel A. Plummer was operating the mill and continued operations until about 1854 when the woods in that area were cut.[41]

In the Moraga woods, probably near present Pinehurst Station, William Taylor (not the reverend) and James Owen had built a mill late in 1849. Taylor's mill supplied present Contra Costa County and greatly prospered until it met an unknown demise, probably by fire, about two years later.[42] For these two years, the above mills were the only ones in the hills. A rapid drop in the San Francisco lumber market scared out further investment in sawmills. In late 1849 and in 1850, San Francisco was flooded with lumber from all parts of the world; even the great fires of 1850 and 1851 could not consume it fast enough. January 1850 saw lumber selling at $150-$300 per 1000 bd. ft., but the price had dropped to $50 by the end of the year. A low was reached in April 1852 when redwood planks brought but $40 per 1000 bd. ft.[43]

Mid-1852 saw increasing activity in the East Bay hills. Eastern lumber shipments had declined and prices on the west coast were again climbing until they reached $100 per 1000 at the end of the year.[44] Although the recently built mills in northern California gave considerable competition in the San Francisco market, the East Bay had begun a rapid growth, and such new towns as Oakland, Clinton, San Antonio, Alameda, Haywards, and Alvarado provided a promising outlet for East Bay redwood. As a result, by the end of 1852, four new mills were in operation, or under construction, and a rapidly expanding road network led into the hills.

Most of the mills were in the middle redwoods (in Mill Canyon, now Redwood Canyon, in Redwood Regional Park). The first, and probably most important, mill in this area was established in the canyon below Redwood Peak in the spring of 1852 by Thomas and William Prince. In July of that year, Thomas Prince obtained title to 320 acres of public land on school land warrants, which, two years later, he sold to his brother. The acreage extended across the canyon from ridge to ridge through the very heart of the woods. Doing business under the name T. B. Prince & Co., the brothers sold their products throughout the East Bay until their woods were exhausted about 1856.[45]

No sooner was the Prince mill established, than Joseph Witherall and Nathaniel Lampson were busily at work erecting a mill slightly to the north of the Prince site, on land claimed by the latter. In spite of their protests, Witherall commenced operations, and months of litigation ensued before a judgment of forcible entry was obtained in January 1853. However, Prince agreed to lease the land and the mill continued. Witherall and Lampson were hopelessly in debt, and after a series of complicated deals, involving financing by Luther Mills and James Vantine of San Francisco, the mill was finally sold to Henry Spicer, a principal creditor, who operated the mill until the forest was exhausted.[46]

Further south, near the mouth of Redwood Canyon, about where the road now enters the park, Chester Tupper and Richard Hamilton established a mill in late 1852, after helping themselves to 350 acres of public land without bothering about deeds, patents, or other proofs of ownership.[47] However, the mill prospered and its lumber could be seen on construction projects throughout the entire East Bay. In the summer of 1854, the business came to a disastrous end when fire swept the mill. This, coinciding with a rapid fall in lumber prices, ruined the partners whose remaining property on the mill site, such as carts, oxen and cut lumber, was distributed among their creditors.[48]

No sooner had the embers of the Tupper mill cooled, than Thomas Eager, who also had lumber interests in the Santa Cruz grove, staked a claim for 160 acres of public land just north of Tupper's site. About the same time, Erasmus Brown, former financial agent of Tupper's, staked a claim of 55 acres in the same area. Rather than fight it out, Brown and Eager consolidated their claims, formed a partnership, and, by late 1854, erected a $10,000 mill just south of the county line, between the Prince and Tupper sites.[49] Their holdings were increased in 1856 when Brown purchased the real estate of the old Tupper mill for $30.[50] Although of dubious title, this land added greatly to the redwood resources of the mill. Brown and Eager's mill now became the leading mill of the East Bay and enjoyed an increasing prosperity as the earlier exploited woods around the Prince property began to disappear. Meanwhile, the old Palo Seco mill had consumed all the timber on the west side of the hills, and its proprietor, Daniel Plummer, in November 1857, purchased Eager's half of Brown and Eager's mill for $3,500.[51] Plummer, however, came in too late. The timber was soon cut off, and in 1861 Brown and Plummer sold their stump-infested holdings for a mere $400.[52]

The Moraga redwoods, in the meantime, had been the scene of activity. In late 1852, Hiram Thorn and William Hamilton began construction of a $20,000 mill near the old site of Taylor's mill. Thorn and Hamilton ignored Moraga's claim to the area and each occupied 160 acres on school land warrants.[53] In February 1853, Elam Brown purchased the area from Moraga and ordered the loggers off his property. An agreement was finally reached whereby Thorn and Hamilton would purchase the land if the Moraga claim were recognized by the courts; meanwhile, they would pay Brown $60 per month in lumber, which would be refunded if the claim were rejected.[54] Long after the last redwood had fallen, the courts recognized the area as "Laguna de los Palos Colorados, Tract #2."

The Thorn and Hamilton partnership proved unhappy, and in October 1853 Hamilton sold his half to Thorn for an $8,000, 5% per month, short-term note.[55] To Thorn's embarrassment, the price of lumber dropped[56] when all his cash was in an unprofitable road venture. A law-suit resulted. In August 1854, the sheriff knocked on Thorn's door and attached all the property at the mill.[57] A settlement was reached and Thorn sold Hamilton the mill, taking a $5,700 mortgage in return. It was now Hamilton's turn to default, and it was early 1857 when the then-bankrupt Hiram Thorn received his money.[58] By the fall of 1856, the Moraga redwoods were destroyed and Hamilton had no use for the land that he might have to buy from Elam Brown. So, through a mutual agreement, they canceled the previous arrangement, Brown keeping the land and the lumber he had received from its use.[59]

During the 1850's, these mills were the economic center of the East Bay, and nearly all east-west roads were planned in relation to them. The previously mentioned track from Lafayette to the Moraga woods became a public highway in 1850, while the route down the western slopes to San Antonio became present-day Park Boulevard and Thirteenth Avenue. But there was no road over the ridge north of Mission Pass. Consequently, in early 1852, William Prince and Thomas Bradley were ordered to survey a public road from Lafayette to San Antonio through the redwoods. Following the established route to the Moraga redwoods, the road then climbed to the ridge between the Moraga and middle redwoods. Although the ridge offers a natural, level route to the skyline, Prince's road wound down into the middle redwoods at exactly the site of Prince's mill, and then followed the canyon to the skyline. After running a short distance south on the skyline, the route followed the nose of a ridge, near present Chelton Road, to the head of Dimond Canyon, near the present intersection of Park and Mountain boulevards. From there it followed the established route to San Antonio.[60]

As the demand for lumber made itself felt in other parts of the East Bay, more roads fanned out from the new route over the hills. In August of 1852, lumber was hauled southward from the Prince mill over a new road along Redwood and San Leandro creeks to Castro Valley, from which it went to southern East Bay communities.[61] In 1856, a route along San Leandro Creek from Thorn's mill to the Castro Valley road was opened.[62]

The Oakland lumber yards needed in 1852 a direct route to the woods, circumventing the then-unbridged Lake Merritt. So a road was built which followed, very roughly, present-day Broadway, Broadway Terrace and Mountain Boulevard to the Prince road.[63] The next year, Tupper and Hamilton wanted a shorter, less tedious route than the Prince road from their mill to San Antonio. They therefore built a second road across the ridge, which is known today as Redwood Road and Thirty-fifth Avenue.[64] Shortly afterwards, High Street was extended from Alameda until it reached Tupper's road at the base of the hills, thus giving Alameda direct access to the redwoods.[65] The present High Street does not follow this entire route.

On the other side of the ridge, the round-about route from Martinez to the woods, via Walnut Creek, was shortened by the building, in 1853, of the Martinez-Redwoods Road, from that town to a point just east of Lafayette.[66] This route is still known as the Martinez Short Cut, or the Pleasant Hill Road.

In 1853, Hiram Thorn proposed to run a more direct route from the Moraga woods to San Antonio than the Prince road. Crossing but one ridge, the route would follow San Leandro Creek to the skyline and then run down Thornhill Canyon to a point near Dimond Canyon, where it would meet both the old road to San Antonio and the new road to Oakland. Enthusiastic support and financial promises of local town fathers and businessmen prompted Thorn, in early 1854, to organize the Thorn Turnpike Road Company, in which he invested $5,000. With his capital thus invested, Thorn's problems arose. The price of lumber dropped and his partner sued him. In the panic of 1855, the town fathers forgot their generous offers of 1853, and the bankrupt Hiram Thorn had only a road.[67] He was later allowed to operate part of the road as a toll road and regained his fortune. Although the Prince road was abandoned and forgotten at the end of the sawmill era, the Thorn road was in use until well into the twentieth century, when the steepest part was abandoned for a route further south.

In the mid-1850's there was considerable travel upon these roads. The importance of the region, which probably had a greater collective population than any East Bay town, can be seen by the way that the county line of 1853 very evenly divided the redwoods between Contra Costa and Alameda counties. Until the woods were destroyed each county had an election precinct in the redwoods. The returns of the March 1853 election show 300 to 400 men in all the woods. In mid-1854 Thorn's mill reportedly had about 100 men[68] and no doubt the three large mills on Redwood Creek had roughly the same number. In Contra Costa County Prince's mill was the polling place, while Tupper's and, later, Brown and Eager's mill was the redwood precinct for Alameda County.[69]

While most of the mill owners later became county supervisors, legislators, and leading businessmen, the bulk of the redwood workers seems to have been a rather rough lot. In Martinez, for example, we have record of the "notorious mob element from the redwoods" causing many disturbances.[70]

Unlike the period of the 1840's, very little lumber in the sawmill period went to San Francisco. The *Alta California* of October 21, 1853, made no mention of an East Bay mill, when it listed the sawmills that were supplying San Francisco. About a year later (Nov. 7, 1854), the Sacramento *Daily Union* reported that a cargo of redwood from Alameda County had arrived in that city. The bulk of the timber, however, was absorbed by the growing East Bay communities and could be found in every town from Martinez to Alvarado.

This demand rapidly depleted the East Bay forest. By mid-1854 the largest timber was becoming scarce. In 1857 there was no need for an election precinct in the Contra Costa County woods. The Alameda County woods had fewer mills and a later start, but 1860 was the last year that that county had a redwood precinct.[71]

Thus by 1860 only a sea of stumps marked the site of the East Bay redwoods. In tune with the unsentimental economy of the day, not a single original redwood was saved for posterity, and people picnic today amongst the small, though beautiful, second growth, unaware of the giants which once stood there. But, although lost to nature lovers, the giant redwoods were not wasted. For two decades they had played an important role in the development of the San Francisco Bay region.

NOTES

1. William P. Gibbons, *The Redwood in the Oakland Hills* (manuscript, 1893, in Oakland Public Library). Dr. Gibbons, a naturalist, observed the redwood region in the late sawmill period.

2. *Ibid.* Also "Bancroft Scraps" (Bancroft Library), California lumber industry, Set W, No. 47, p. 1, undated, untitled clipping.

3. Deeds and agreements, cited later, mention and define these areas. Earlier documents refer only to the San Antonio redwoods.

4. Herbert E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expedition* (Berkeley, 1930), III, 136; IV, 361; also his *Fray Juan Crespi* (Berkeley, 1927), p. 289; Irving B. Richman, *San Francisco Bay and California in 1776* (Providence, R. I., 1911), copies, Font's maps; Pedro Fages, "Expedition in Search of San Francisco Bay, March 20–April 5, 1772" (Mexico, General Archives, California), vol. 66, copy in Bancroft Library; "Diary of Pedro Fages, Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770," *Publs.*, Academy of Pacific Coast History (1911), II, 12-13.

5. José de Cañizares, Plano del Puerto de San Francisco (1776), photostat in Bancroft Library; map made after the arrival of the presidio and mission complements.

6. Journals of the Vancouver and Rezanof expeditions indicate little, if any, travel on the bay at this time.

7. Ruth Mary McGinty, "Spanish and Mexican Ranchos in the San Francisco Bay Region" (unpublished M.A. thesis, U. C., 1921), p. 39.

8. U. S. Land Office, "Translation of Papers on File Relating to the Spanish Grant Issued to Don Luis Peralta" (copies in Oakland Public Library; photostat, Oakland Public Museum).

9. *Ibid.* Alameda County, Patents, A, 60, 669; B, 50.

10. Contra Costa County, Patents, III, 489-519.

11. F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific* (London, 1831), II, 426. Map, San Francisco harbor, survey of Capt. Beechey, 1827-1828 (copy in Bancroft Library).

12. Charles F. Carter, ed., "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827-1828," this QUARTERLY, VIII, 320.

13. W. G. (William Gower), "Letters from California," *Magazine of History*, XXVI (1931), 155, 182.

14. "Larkin Documents," I, Nos. 54, 55, 56, 221 (Bancroft Library). Numerous documents refer to the Santa Cruz-Hawaiian lumber trade.

15. Many editions of the journals of these men are available.

16. "Archives of California," Legislative records (manuscript in Bancroft Library), II (1834-35), p. 68.

17. George Patterson, in "Sketches of California Pioneers, written or dictated by themselves," No. 48 (manuscript in Bancroft Library).

18. *Ibid.;* "Recollections of Henry J. Bee" (manuscript in Bancroft Library).

19. Eugène Duflot de Mofras, *Travels on the Pacific Coast* (Santa Ana, 1937), I, 224-25.

20. *Ibid.*, I, 227.

21. *Ibid.*

22. "Larkin Documents," I, No. 221.

23. *Ibid.*, I, 303. A number of later documents show orders for lumber from Yerba Buena.

24. See note 8 above.

25. Patterson, *op. cit.;* Bee, *op. cit.;* Frank Gilbert, *History of Butte County* (San Francisco, 1882), life of Pierre Sicard.

26. M. W. Wood, *History of Alameda County* (Oakland, 1883), pp. 937, 975, biographies of Mendenhall and H. C. Smith; Biographical Sketch of Napoleon B. Smith, in "Miscellaneous Historical Papers" (manuscript in Bancroft Library).

27. San Jose *Pioneer*, Jan. 26, 1878, biographical sketch of Brown.

28. W. A. Slocum, *History of Contra Costa County* (San Francisco, 1882), pp. 515-31, biographical sketch of Brown—Brown was one of the members of the constitutional convention of 1849 and of the first state legislature; Contra Costa County, Deeds, IV, 317, the Acalanes sale.

29. Slocum, *op. cit.*, pp. 589-95, biography of Jones.

30. Jacob W. Harlan, *California, '46-'88* (San Francisco, 1888), pp. 108-11.

31. *California Star*, March 6, April 24, 1847.

32. J. M. Horner, *National Finance and Public Money, and Personal History of the Author* (Honolulu, 1898), pp. 250-53. Horner was one of the few ranchers in the woods during the summer of 1848. All sources indicate that the woods were practically deserted at this time.

33. John Ingall, *California Letters of the Gold Rush Period* (Worcester, Mass., 1938), p. 13: in August 1849, lumber @ $350 per m.; Frank Soulé *et al*, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 254: lumber @ $500 per m.; Z. S. Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1912), II, 612: lumber @ $300-600 per m. in spring of 1849.

34. Samuel Upham, *Notes of a Voyage to California* (Philadelphia, 1878), pp. 145-46.

35. William Taylor, *California Life* (New York, 1858), pp. 35-41.

36. The original route has been obliterated by subsequent roads, erosion, and anti-

erosion projects. Road projects in the 1850's, which follow "the usually traveled routes," give clues as to the earlier routes.

36*a*. "Larkin Documents," VI, 33, 111. This does not infer that Benicia was built entirely with East Bay lumber; on the contrary, most of it came from the Sonoma County woods, as many Larkin documents show.

37. Contra Costa County, Minutes of the Court of Sessions, I, 7; Slocum, *op. cit.*, pp. 508, 513, biographies of Thomas Bradley and Matthew Barber, who hauled Moraga lumber to Martinez in this period.

38. Slocum, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

40. Cadwalader Ringgold, *Series of Charts with Sailing Directions* (4th ed., Washington, D.C., 1852).

41. Wood, *op. cit.*, pp. 413, 945; Ingram *v.* Plummer, Alameda County Court, No. 2, Nov. 9, 1853.

42. Contra Costa County, Deeds, C, 41, 69; Court of Sessions, I, 77.

43. *Daily Herald*, Apr. 1, 1852; *Alta California*, Sept. 20, 27, and Oct. 25, 1849; *ibid.*, May 6, 1850.

44. *Alta California*, Oct. 15, Dec. 7, 1852.

45. Contra Costa County, School land warrants, p. 1; Deeds, IV, 230; Prince *v.* Stack, Alameda County Court, No. 53, Nov. 8, 1854.

46. Contra Costa County, Deeds, III, 179, 182, 236, 421; Spicer *v.* Witherall, 7th Dist. Court, Contra Costa County, Oct. 10, 1853.

47. Although the land boundaries are described in a mortgage, there is no deed or patent in either county. The land was sold, later, on a bill of sale, not a deed.

48. Alameda County, Mechanics liens, A, 10, 17, 46; Miscellaneous records, A, 22.

49. Alameda County, Deeds, C, 343; Brown and Plummer *v.* Lee, 3rd Dist. Court, Alameda County, No. 738, Apr. 6, 1858; Official map of Alameda County, April 1857 (surveyor's office).

50. Alameda County, Certificates of sale, D, 169.

51. Alameda County, Deeds, G, 169.

52. *Ibid.*, M, 775.

53. Thorn *v.* his creditors, Alameda County Court, No. 153, March 27, 1857: it gives entire story of both mill and road enterprises; Contra Costa County, Deeds, III, 184; School land warrants, pp. 23, 24.

54. Contra Costa County, Deeds, III, 10, 419, 440, 442; Patents, III, 489.

55. Contra Costa County, Deeds, III, 438, 442.

56. *Alta California*, March 4, 1854: redwood boards @ $45 per m.; Alameda County, Mechanics liens, A, 69: redwood @ $30, Sept. 1855.

57. William Hamilton *v.* Thorn, 7th Dist. Court, Contra Costa County, Aug. 14, 1854; John B. and William Hamilton *v.* Thorn, 7th Dist. Court, Contra Costa County, Aug. 14, 1854.

58. Contra Costa County, Deeds, IV, 169; Mortgages, I, 95, 290; Thorn *v.* Hamilton, 7th Dist. Court, Contra Costa County, Dec. 2, 1856.

59. Contra Costa County, Deeds, V, 273.

60. Contra Costa County, Court of Sessions, I, 57, 70, 77.

61. Contra Costa County, Supervisors' minutes, I, 39.

62. Alameda County, Supervisors' minutes, I, 163, 169.

63. Contra Costa County, Supervisors' minutes, I, 112; Alameda County, Map of the ranchos of V. and D. Peralta, filed Jan. 21, 1857.

64. Alameda County, Supervisors' minutes, I, 61, 169.

65. *Ibid.*, I, 11, 55, 60, 61, 63; Alameda County, Road book, O, 26.

66. Contra Costa County, Supervisors' minutes, I, 110, 179.

67. Alameda County, Certificate of incorporation, "Thorn Turnpike Road Company," March 6, 1854; Thorn *v.* his creditors, *op. cit.*

68. William Halley, *Centennial Year Book of Alameda County* (Oakland, 1876), p. 69; *Alta California*, June 11, 1854.

69. Contra Costa County, Supervisors' minutes, I, 120, 153; Alameda County, Supervisors' minutes, I, 8, 72, 118, 231, 297, 411, 470.

70. Slocum, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

71. Contra Costa County, Supervisors' minutes; Alameda County, Supervisors' minutes; *Alta California*, June 11, 1854.

The California and Australia Gold Rushes

As Seen by Amos S. Pittman

with Introduction and Notes

By Theressa Gay

THE number of letters from miners in California during the gold rush is almost overwhelming, yet in each letter there is a possibility that some detail, not known or perhaps ill understood before, may be found. Just as interesting in this respect as the Forty-niners' finds were their failures; and when these men, while they were combing the placers, developed resourcefulness—even to the extent of making up their minds to shift from one continent to another in search of wealth—the interest in their history is so much the greater. Thus it was with Amos S. Pittman. Instead of becoming cynical or losing his self-respect by going home without any "pile," he welcomed the news of Edward H. Hargraves' discovery of gold in New South Wales in 1851 (see his letter of May 27, 1852) and forthwith set out for the mines of "John Bull's colonies in the Indian ocean."

Amos Salisbury Pittman (b. New York City, 1825) was one of thirteen children of George Washington and Mary (Spies) Pittman, staunch Methodists, whose religious upbringing of their son is reflected in his letters. From New York the Pittmans at some unrecorded date moved to Williamsburgh, Long Island, where Amos was living when President Polk's confirmation of Marshall's discovery at Coloma took the east by storm. Like many another young man, Pittman joined an association of gold seekers. As a unit they purchased a vessel to take them to California and stocked it with supplies and equipment; but the group split up after arriving in California, the members preferring to be free of corporate trappings and to display their talents with pans and picks as independent individuals.

Pittman's efforts gave only slim returns and in 1852 he sailed for the South Pacific. To finance the trip he accepted employment on the *Orpheus,* which was engaged in trading for hogs, cocoanut oil and arrowroot (letter of Feb. 28, 1853). He married a native woman on Navigator's Island, Samoa, but by January 1, 1853, he was again on the move, bound for Australia. In Sydney, he fell in with some of his California acquaintances who had been operating successfully in the Victoria goldfields—in fact, they had, as he said, "made their piles." As for himself, he failed to find any great fortune. Nevertheless, he had at least satisfied a wish "to see the world and I might as well see it while I am young for the sooner I sow my wild oats the better [letter of May 27, 1852]." Amos Pittman died in Australia in circumstances that are not known.

The letters transcribed below are published with the kind permission of two of Mr. Pittman's grandnieces. The first eleven letters are owned by Mrs. Gertrude Quinlan, Rockville Centre, New York. The other three were formerly in the possession of Miss Mary F. Smith of Oakland, California, but have been presented to the Bancroft Library, University of California. Except for the introduction of arbitrary paragraphing, the transcription follows the original.

Lon 37 + West Lat 34x51 Lont At Sea April 7th/49

Dear Mother

At the time I write this there is a Ship Laying to And the Captan on board of is going to New York from London we have had nothing but head winds & rough weather Since we left but We hope soon to get in the trade wind there is nothing new to let you know as you will get a letter before this one reach—you from one we sent to London. but we are well and in good Spirit if George[1] wants to go to California tell him not to come by way of the Cape as it is very tedious we have every delicacy of the season pudding pies & plenty Bean Soup also Beef so Salt we cannot eat it. tell Mr. Thomas wife that he is well & sometimes wishes he had never left home I expect by the time you receive this we will be in Pt Catharine South America

in Great haste your Respected Son
A California Gold Hunter Amos S Pittman

Ship Salem,[2] At Sea April 16th 1849

To all whom this may concern, Greeting:

As I have nothing to do and being pleasant weather I will give you some account of our voyage also of our living so far. After leaving N. York[3] we came to anchor in the lower bay or the Horse Shoe as some call it until the next day when at 11 a.m. the steamer Santee hove alongside and we hoisted anchor and proceeded to Sea. At 3 p.m. discharged the Pilot & tow boat and set sail. While doing so one of the seamen got severely hurt by a chain giving way aloft and falling on his head so that he could do no duty for some time but he is now at work. the next morning I awoke after a very sound sleep and went on deck to behold the sun rise it was a most beautiful sight surrounded by water & sky it far surpasses a sunrise on shore this day passed by very well. But when I arose the next morning the sea very rough to find some one hundred & fifty men sea sick. it is an awful feeling by the way they went on casting there accounts in the great deep I could not help laughing to see them some kept in bed for fear the motion of the Ship would set them going but it was of no use they could not clear from it for as soon as they turned out you would see them leaning over the top rail as for myself I was not touched with it whatever but Mr. Thomas was sick some ten days in a few days they were all well & had there sea legs on and we choosed our messes being 16 in each mess for the first few days [they] acted like hogs for they went at it as if they had nothing to eat for a month but we brought them to there senses by appointing a head man to deal out to us our rations we have something put up in barrels called beef but when you come to see it it is so salt & tough you would think it was old horse some have turned too and wrote a parody about it commencing thus:

Old Horse old horse what brought you here
From N. York city Rooseveilt pier
You have carted stone this many Year
Till killed by blows and sore abuse
they have salted you down for the Salem's use
the Association do you despies
they turn you over and cure your eyes
Cut off youre flesh and pick your bones
And throw the rest to davy Jones
How can l wonder youre in this place
Since you were bought by Witherad[4] & Chase[5]
Going, going at a rapid pace: Going again cries Rufus Chase

But in other matters we live very well indeed we have mush one morning sometimes Lobs. Scouse (Hash) Fried Ham potatoes Riceduff apple sauce mackerell & being part baker myself we have short and mollasses cake also pies we cannot grumble at such living as this. on April 13th we had quite a blow out myself posse[ss]ing a great share it commenced With Captain Eldridge & Br. Withered one of the exDirectors Concerning the Stewards they being hired by the association to perform the duty of there office But they being relations of the Captain they found to much time to play cards and read novels which ought to be otherwise employed. I regret here to state that our Captain not being able to govern his passionate temper here committed himself by throwing the Shipping articles and Ship's Register on the floor and Swearing he would no longer take command of the Ship and if he Mr. Withered did not take the care of the papers he would burn them. here then we was left on the high Seas without a commander and if the papers had been destroyed we should then be by all nations considered as Pirates and if any vessel of war had come across us we should be taken in port and tried as such. A scene here presented itself that I shall not forget for in different parts of the ship could be seen groups of men conversing as to what shall be our future course the exciting moment was taken advantage of by the new board of Directors and forthwith a meeting was called at 11 A.M. next morning for the purpose of appointing our Chief Mate to the command of the ship Salem, as Captain Elridge had voluntarily resigned the command of the ship by throwing up his papers for which he had reason to regret the act for [he] had thereby held himself liable to be put in irons and sent back to the U. States for trial. After our new appointment the meeting adjourned peaceably—

Mr. Douglas our present captain is a very good man and every inch a Sailor what he does not know is not worth knowing As Soon as he took command he put her on the right Course and on the following Tuesday took the north East trade winds and put every rag we could we kept them till we crossed the Line (Lon 23 W) w[h]ere we were becalmed for 2 or three Hours. we had frequent squalls of wind and rain together you do not [know] what rain is at home you have showers tis true but here it comes down as if there was an ocean of water over our head and had broke loose. this sheet being full I will [write] another sheet of paper when I am in Rio Janeiro.

Yours & c Amos S. Pittman

Ship Salem At sea (Lat 10°–S–Lon 30° W) Letter No. 1

Ship Salem,–Rio de Janeiro, June 1st/49

My dear Mother

After a long & tedious passage of 66 days we came to anchor in the Bay of Rio on fryday afternoon May 18th Since we left N.Y. we have had 28 days of head winds which put us off our course so much that we were within 2 day's sail of Africa. but however after getting in the trade winds we made a good run to Cape Frio (70 miles n. of Rio) on Saturday morning May 13th when we were becalmed but toward evening a fresh breeze sprang up but not having a chart of this Coast we ran some 80 miles past the harbor and did not find out our mistake until the following tuesday when we spoke a Brazillian brig the captain informed us of our mistake. But the current being strong & head winds put us behind hand in getting in port. we had not been anchored but a few moments when a numbe[r] of boats Came alongside with Hotel runners. in the evening two officers from the U.S. Brig Preble came aboard and informed us of the Store Ship Lexington coming in here with half a million of Gold.[6] It being quite late a number of us went to bed trying to get some sleep but there was no use as there was such a noise made by those that would not go to bed. at 6 o'clock in the morning a number of boats came alongside and went ashore Taking a look around the city.

Rio is one of the largest cities in South America built at the foot of a long chain of high mountains. the buildings are of stone plastered on the outside which gives it a beautiful appearance they are principaly of one story with tile roofs & stone floors with no chimney as they use charcoal. the streets are miserable compared to N.Y. here they do not know what a sidewalk is and the gutter is in the middle of the road but they are much cleaner than they are in N.Y. As for the labor it is all done by slaves the natives being too lazy the market is very good indeed you can buy anything you wish but the meat is very lean & tough in the afternoon we went to the monastery a person would think it was some workhouse it is a very old building the inside partly fitted up with Cells for the priests and another for a Chapel which is a beautiful [one] the woodwork being carved and guilded. working animals are very little used as the slaves are so plenty they have to do it all carrying loads of 200 lbs weight on there heads. it would be a beautiful city & harbor if the Yankees had it. on Sunday they have service 4 o'clock in the morning and the rest part of the day is used by working the same as any other. We were all invited to visit the U.S. Frigate brandy wine where I heard a good sermon by a Methodist his name is Reinhart. the next day myself and Thomas commenced to do some iron work for the ship which took 3 days. we expect to sail on Sunday morning June the 2nd and if we arrive safe to our destination you will here again from

Your Son Amos S Pittman

San francisco Oct. 20th/49

Dear Mother.

Youre letters by Mr. Mayer I received a few days ago. (He has been up to the mines for six weeks when we arrived) I was very glad to hear from home as we had no news since we left. You wished to know all the particulars of the voyage. But 'tis impossible for me, to do, at present as the party I am united with is preparing to go up to the mines in a few days. We left Rio on the morning of June the 4th with a fair wind and expecting to make a short passage. by dusk we were out sight of land with a good Breeze, But the third day we were out we had a head wind driving us far to the Eastward after getting in the Lattitudes of the *River La Platte* we had heavy Gales where we laid under storm stay sails for sixteen days one night in particular while the most hardest Gale that we experienced off of. this River I went on deck not being able to sleep in my berth on account of the rolling of the ship. We came very near being lost by going down stern first by the wind shifting in a moment & putting us all aback But the Capt. an old sea dog soon brought the ship to the wind again, and almost at the same instant a very large meteor fell very near me & exploded making a loud report while thousands of others were playing about the rigging the sailors were very much frightened for they expected to see the ship on fire every moment

we had a good time on the 4th day of July while off the Faulkland Islands 'twas a very cold day being the middle of winter in this region we had a oration by one of our members, and singing appropriate airs by a number on board. after this was done we sat down to a extra dinner provided for us by the Board of Directors consisting of apple Pie & Duff of which our Steward ought to be presented with a leather medal for the good imitation he makes of it. we doubled *Cape Horn* with a good breeze but no sooner had we got in the Pacific (by the way 'tis not so Paccified as you suppose) we had another Gale which lasted for eleven days. when we took a fair wind and on the morning of August the 4th we made land at night we came to anchor in the mouth of the harbor the next morning weighed anchor and and stood up the Bay at 9 A.M. dropped anchor in the Bay of Conception & about one mile from the City of *Techlauana.*[7] I did not go ashore the first day as it was a very bad day. by the looks of the hills and everything around here you would think it 'twas the last Place that was created. the next morning I went ashore but very soon got tired of it. *Five Points* is a Beautiful Place to this horrible hole. for the female portion are all *Prostitutes* without one exception. Here you can buy anything you want for the table cheap. Flour is very cheap only $5.00 per Bag (200 lbs) wine thirty cents per gallon. after laying here for sixteen days in taking cargo & water we set sail in the afternoon of Oct. 20[8] we had a stiff breeze from the S.W. and the old craft going through the water at the rate of ten knots an hour we kept these winds until we reached twelve degrees North of the line when we were becalmed for three days & then took the N.W. Trades which carried us as far as 36°00 N & 141°00 W. when the wind hauled round to the N.W. and then we tacked ship and stood E. by N. on the morning of Oct 11th the grattifying news of Land ho was sung out. and immediately all hands were on deck. sure enough there it was some twenty miles distant on our lee Bow.

Now all was anxiety to search the Eldorado this day But were unhappily disappointed for by 9 a.m. the wind died away and left us becalmed in the afternoon a good breeze sprung up. But a third [thick?] fog hanging around kept us from running any closer at 4 p.m. spoke the Amer,-Ship Mason 231 days from Phidadelphia with 110 passengers as we had to stand off & on until morning they wished too keep our company soon after leaving us they tacked ship in a moment and hailing us of Land being on our lee Bow if it had been night we should have run on it. we tacked ship again and stood seawards the other ship kept company with us until three in the morning when we lost sight of her she not being as fast a sailor. When morning broke we could see land nowhere and all hands were down hearted for standing to sea so long But there being a stiff breeze we made land again at 9 A.M. we ran down the coast and passed through the *Golden Gate* at 4 P.M. and at 5 came to anchor in San francisco Bay exactly 7 months from N. York and 172 days sailing time.[9] among three hundred sail in the harbor there is only seven that made shorter passage than we have we were 52 days from our last Port. as soon as the anchor was down the harbor Master came aboard and informed us that there was Plenty of Gold here but you must work hard to get it. the whole Party of us arrived here in good health with the exception of some severe colds taken off the Cape of which I had a bad one I thought would settle in[to] the consumption. But after 3 months I got clear of it. we had a very good living to what the rest of the ships have we did not use up our butter until we doubled the Cape after that we broke into our mackel [mackerel?] which was very good also Johny Cake which was very acceptable although I did not like that when at home. In Techluanana we Bought more Flour and had soft tack (Bread) nearly every day. *old Hoss* & Pork one day the next the reverse. — — — —

And now for some accounts of this rich country. San francisco is quite a large place numbering some four Hundred Buildings such as they are for very few of them will keep water out in the rainy season. the city is situated on one of the most Beautiful Bay in the world with a Population of nearly twenty thousand most them foreigners for the Americans are up to the different mines. it is a Business Place if you wish to sell anything you will not get the first cost but go to the store and you got to pay five hundred per cent the reason is they have to pay enormous rents. one house in particular no larger than ferry's grocery store and not half so good, pays thirty five thousand dollars a year, for a room ten feet square from 2 to four hundred per month so you must not talk about high rents home, there are a great many gambling *Hells* where persons coming from the mines with two or three thousand dollars will play & perhaps lose every cent and go back to the mines for more. One dollar here will go as far as a cent home. Mess Pork brings twenty seven dollars per bbl. Whole Old *Hoss* from two to three cents per lb. to fill docks with as for tea 'tis a drug in the market. Pilot bread the best kind for ten cents per lb. Mess Pork $30. a bbl. fresh bread twenty five cents for a loaf weighing two lbs. flour from $12. to 20 per bag. Board is very reasonable. from $14 to 24 per week washing & ironing $8. per dozen. Laborers can make $8 a day Mechanics from $12 to 18 a day. I have refused $150 a month and found for I can do better up to the mines. Physicians have enormous prices they charge 1 oz a visit and if they prescribe medicine they have extra.

Most of the Gold washing machines that has come from NYork are useless. those made by Higgins[10] brings one thousand dollars a piece. He could make money here at his trade as there is a number of iron houses going up. Journeyman Bakers has $300 a month. Most of us has brought things along that are altogether useless All you want to bring is too small trunks filled with flannel & check shirts & heavy clothing. light ones are no good. Lynch law is all the Law they have. they think nothing of shooting a man for stealing or fighting on the 22nd there is 5 men formerly belonging to the sloop of war Warren for attempting to drown a Lieutenant, they will be hung on board the Frigate Savannah.[11] Demas Strong left WmsBurgh[12] Last Spring and now has a handsome fortune. which he made by trading No doubt you have heard of the Death of John Morrell of consumption he died a few days before we arrived. Persons expose themselves so much that no wonder they get Sick. As my Mind is all up in a heap I will have to Stop until I arrive up to the mines. the party that I belong to consist of Mr. Waterbury formerly our Chief Mate & Mr. Ahrens his brother-[in]-law. Mr. Thomas Thomas formerly a Hatter in NYork Geo Higgins is acquainted with him Robert Thomas and myself we except to go up by the 25 of this month. We have disposed of the ship for a mere song each one have $34.25/100 for his share. I must stop to pack up my traps so I will bid you adiu we are all well. Give my love to all.

Your Son a Gold Digger Amos S Pittman

Sacramento City Dec 26/49

Dear Mother

Tis with pleasure I take my pen in hand and wish you all a Merry Christmas and how different from last year when we were together in the family circle enjoying the comforts of a home with many other privileges which is now impossible. And then look around and how [many] well known faces are there missing that last year were in enjoyment of good health little did they think there time was so near at hand. But that *Grim old call boy Death* has come upon them when least expected and swept off his thousands with them our friends & relatives. And How thankful should we be to *Almighty God* that we are spared yet a little while. After leaving San Francisco I was taken quite bad with the liver complaint and hung on me for about four weeks when it left me. we stopped in this place one week when we bought a team for $250. and started for the mines. Mr. Waterbury having backed out on account of the rainy season having set in. but I was determined to go through if the rest did we crossed the American fork at sun down and encamped about one mile from the stream, built a camp fire and took supper consisting of fried pork and hard biscuit. we soon went to bed, so as to have a early start in the morning Robt. T. & Ahrens sleeping in the waggon to keep the cattle from straying through the night while myself and Thos. Thomas slept in the Tent. in the morning we arose quite refreshed after sleeping on the ground got breakfast struck tent and started again we had got but a short distance when we got stuck in the mud but another teamster coming along he put on his team to ours and hauled us out we proceeded about half a mile when we got stuck again when the same wagoner hauled us out again we then halted to get dinner which consisted of fried bacon hard bread & mushrooms. a person happening to come along with a drove of cattle we thought it advisable to procure another yoke which we did by paying seventy dollars. we then got about one mile and pitched our tent for the night in the morning when we went to put our team in readiness we found one of the oxen we had bought the day before missing after a fruitless search we gave it up and picked one up of[f] the praire and yoked him to day the roads being so bad we got along very slow and all of us nearly discouraged but howsoever we are trying to get through if we can.

after one week hard work we accomplished twelve miles of our journey when we mad[e] up our minds to encamp for the winter accordingly the next day Rob. T. and Ahrens started to go down to the city for more provisions they had been gone after one hour and half when Robt. came back driving one of the oxen part the ways back but being so weak he could drive him no further I then started thinking that Ahrens would want some assistance about 8 miles below the tent on a large flat I found him mired all the oxen being up to there mid[d]le in mud & water after working four hours up to my middle in the water trying to get the cattle out we left them after getting one of them on good ground we arrived up to the tent about 9 P.M. cold, wet through and hungry we soon had a fire made and shifted our clothing got some[th]ing to eat and went to bed the next morning after breakfast they all went down excepting myself to get the other cattle out at night they returned without any success one of the oxen being dead. being very hard luck for us young adventurers

Robert he went back to sacramento City quite sick with the dysintery the next day two of the party went down to bring back the team and at night they arrived with one yoke out of the three we started with the rest being all dead. today we received a letter from Robt. stating he would go no farther with us as he had a job which made the rest quite mad, and for myself I did not wish to leave him. Myself and a friend that was going to the mines with us by the name of Lecomte (Henrretta[13] being acquainted with his wife formerly a member of Bedford Street church) Robt. told me to come down he would get work for both of us if he could we took up some hard bread with us for the party this being Saturday and on monday they me and the two friends bag and baggage with nine hard biscuit [started for Sacramento City] on the road having more than we could get along with we did not know what to do. but as good fortune would have it a team came along and we gave him two dollars to take us about five miles when he dropt us on the road and here we were dark coming on very fast anyhow we had to put up as how we could we struck a fire and eat our hard biscuit spread our blankets on the cold wet ground.

Oh for a home in some vast wilderness some boundless plain to rest our weary limbs and sure enough we had it tonight we slept until midnight when we were awakened by the rain coming down upon [us] quite heavy we had to arise roll up our blankets and build a large fire to keep us warm and dry, watching for daylight as it happened it did not rain but a short time when it 'twas light enough we packed up and as we could not carry all our things in one load we took a part of them carried them about one mile and then went back for the rest going for the second load my friends lost sight of me and got on the wrong road after waiting about two hours for them where the rest of the things were I went looking for them about half an hour afterwards I found them they had went back about three miles on the road we had paid to get along the day previous they had got so tired out they hove part of there things on there way back after eating our last biscuit the first we eat in 14 hours we made track for the city where we arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon wet through and hungry enough to eat shoe leather we put up in a tent with Robt. and his brother in law

Danl Manjer. the next morning I went to work with Robt. taking a house down of[f] a Boat and putting it up on the banks of the river I worked three days for which I got nine dollars a day as much as I could earn home in three weeks but you must know we have to pay twenty one dollars a week for board and nothing much to do just enough to live and that is all through the rainy season. as for the miners they cannot work a[t] present on account of rains and freshets carrying away the dams

Robt & Manjer wishes me to go in business with them in the spring and buisness will be more brisk than heretofore on account of so many coming here across the plains the isthmus and around the Horn. Manjer is quite a business person as for Robt. you best know what a person he is for industry and perseverance. they have got some money between them but not enough therefore they wish me to come in with them and I have no means if you think you can raise one thousand dollars and send the draft to me I will give ten per cent interest and send the principal back again in one month. I will also come home next fall with ten thousand easy I can raise the money here but have to pay heavy interest 12 per cent a month. every thing in the market pays from seventy five to a hundred and fifty per cent profit—so you must try hard & get it for me from Roe[14] or Frisby[15] as for John Gay[16] he would let me have it very soon if he had the means. write as soon as possible for it will be late when I receive the letter in answer to this. as for myself I shall not go to the mines to work as there is so much ague & Billious fever there the year round—my sheet is now full so I must close this epistle by wishing you all well *my respect to all.*

N.B. I enjoy good health much better now at present than I did in the States I have gained in weight only 18 pounds since I left I weigh only 174 lbs. now. Robt. is very well at present when he comes home his wife will [have] a big arm full to hug & kiss for he is nearly as big as pop Higgins.

Your son an unfortunate Gold Hunter
Amos S. Pittman

In the woods Nov. 29/50

Dear Mother.

You may think strange that I have not wrote since last April the reason is I have been all over the country looking for diggins & not having ink or paper I could not write. But you may expect letters every mail. the last letter I had I received in August 'twas dated in April. I have been to work on the south fork of the American fork. all summer but have done poorly there being so many to work on the bars that they are soon worked out and then we have to look elsewhere at the present time I am in winter quarters. A beautiful part of the country mountains all around us covered with pine trees from one hundred & fifty to two & three hundred feet high I have a comfortable log cabin 8 foot square and a canvass roof besides a fire place as large as the cabin. myself sitting down by a large fire writing this letter. I have laid in a winters supply of provisions consisting of Flour Pork beans Coffee sugar & c. & c. and take quite comfortable those rainy days when we cannot work.

I often think about Home as you may suppose. and you wish me to come home again, but I will not until I can make enough to start in business or buy a farm. you will not see me come home and go to work for anybody else for I can make a living here much easier than I can there & be my own master. if [I] do not do well this winter I shall go up to Oregon next spring and settle they offer 320 acres of land to all new settlers. by the by I wish you would let me know where Maria[17] was situated for I calculate to visit her grave before I ever return I have been throwing up dirt to wash as soon as the rain comes we have had a very little as yet and now it comes down as if it did not care about it. I wis[h] you would inquire what part of the country Thomas is [in] the last I saw him was up on the middle fork last August he said he would write and let me know how he was making it go, but he has not wrote I have addressed letters to him several times. I have just receive 2 letters from one of my friends in WmsBurgh one dated in May the other in june. he tells me that Lawrence & sons rope walk has [burned?] down. also the old yellow church (Driggs Shop) Tell John Gay he will oblige me very much if he will pay my dues to the Engine company that I belonged to and withdraw my name as I will be away longer than I expected and I do not wish to be expelled.

I wish George was here with a good rifle for game is plenty such as wild Geese ducks deer and last of all Grisly Bear he would not care meeting one of them as I did one day walking along I met Mr. Grisly about one hundred yards from me & coming the way I was going I had nothing but my sheath knife and blankets he made a circuit around snuffing the earth and growling like a bear with a sore head and you better believe my legs flew carrying my body with them. they are a very large savage animal when attacked or hungry if they are wounded 'tis hard to escape from them instances have been known when [they] hold up there entrails with one paw and fight with the other as for their food they live on berries & acorns which grow here they will climb up a tree and walk out on the limb and hang on shaking the acorns off and then drop down if the limb does not break with there great weight average from seven to twelve hundred pounds.

the females what modest creatures they are more so than the women at home as soon as they are with young they retire to there cave and are not seen afterwards while the male brings her food we have great numbers of Indians around us they are very troublesome up the river. a Place called Ringgold[18] where they have had several fights with the whites but where I am they are very friendly coming in the cabin saying *mucho pan* (give me some bread) one impudent fellow I told to clear out he turned round & said give me some pan than I vamoose but notwithstanding they are very friendly to us. I do not know what more to write about but next time I will give a long letter my companion is a Presbyterian clergyman's son from old Conn–by the name of Greenwood he has a Brother Manager of the American Museum–Direct your letters to Culloma, Cal. than I can get them much quicker and write long ones. Give my love to all.

Your Son Amos S Pittman

Jany 22nd/51 Greenwood Diggins

Dear Mother

I have waited a very long time to hear some news from home. But I suppose if I want any I must come myself to get them which I shall not do for sometime yet to come. Since I wrote last I have done but little on account of being very dry. Great many had dirt thrown up to wash which would last them all the season if they had water when it rains 'tis but two or three days at a time & lasts only one week when 'tis all gone and then we have to wait three weeks or a month before we get more. I dont think I shall much more than clear myself. If I do that I am situated some five miles North of Culloma formerly called the mills where the Gold was first discovered But had not been worked but very little in that vicinity on account of the race that belonged to the Mill. last fall great many persons wintering there went to work and found it would pay very well if they get clear of the race. they called a meeting of miners together appointed a Committee to wait upon the owner to see what arrangements they could make by paying ten thousand dollars he would deliver the mill up. they went to work and laid off the ground in two hundred shares at $50. per share.[19]

As soon as we get [a] little more rain I shall wash what dirt I have thrown up and start for the Southern mines. I think there is better prospect there than here. although the Indians are very troublesome at the South. But a good rifle & a revolver will quiet them. Mining will not be worth working at if Uncle Sam put his law in force 'tis poor enough and what the miners will do 'tis hard to say I think they will turn out enmasse and drive the Agents out of the Country[20] I will lend a hand to do it. Since I wrote last I have sent several letters different parts to find out where Robert is, But cannot find out any tidings of his whereabouts or Manjer either I wish you would let me know whether he has gone home or where he is, for my part 'tis likely I shall go to some South American Port and to start a Blacksmith Shop next winter. this winter I have enjoyed very good health excepting this two weeks past I have Been troubled with the rush of Blood in the head yesterday I was taken with it. it came with a dizziness in the head & could not see and instantly I fell and how long I laid so I could not tell. when I came to I had a terrible headache. I do not know what to do for it except

Bleeding and that I do not like for if I should just as likely I shall have to be bled quite often. I must bring these few lines to a close as I have no more to write at present.

Your Son Amos S Pittman

Give my best respects to all my friends and love to the family. A happy New Year to all No puedo aquardar mas He perdido la paciencia Hasta otra vista tan pronto como sea posible Es puecito que me vaya tengo franquear esta canta

Buano Espanol

Your Senor A S Pittman

Culloma May 11th/51

Dear Mother

After all the promises I have made that I would not write again until I had received some letters from home I find myself once more with pen in hand scribling away as usual. 'tis now nine months since I received the last letter and I begin to think you have forgotten me altogether Robt writes that you do not receve any from me there is not a month passes by without my writing & it is very strange indeed if you do not receive them after the postage is paid Nearly a Month has passed by since we have had any rain and likely we will not have any more this Season the weather is very warm in the middle of the day. But, the mornings and Evenings are very cold so much so that we keep a blazing fire in the Cabin all night

Every paper we receive from the States gives encouraging accounts of the mines of great quantities of gold taking out. it is not so those news are sent on by persons that are interested in some way or other I have travelled over a great part of the mining districts both North and South and I cannot find a place where I can average five dollars a day for the last three weeks I have not made three per day Gold is very scarce Most of the miners do not care about there pile now all they think about is making enough to carry them home for my part I shall stay until I make something either at digging or something else and what that will be I do not know. News has just reached here that a fire had broke out in Francisco[21] when the Express left thirteen blocks where destroyed and the fire still raging if that be true 'twill make brisk times for the Mechanics and harde for the Miners as it will send provisions up to high price if I had money enough I would go down & start a shop as no doubt most of the buildings will be put up with Brick if they do there will be great quantities of iron work wanted.

A person from WmsBurgh informed me that they have received a City Charter I suppose George will be looking up for the Alderman's chair. The great city of WmsBurgh situated on the East river State of Long Island.

I heard that Demas Strong had arrived home and was the lion of the day giving his grand Dinners I believe he made some fifty thousand But how I will not say there is strange accounts floating about that is no credit to him and which I have from persons well acquainted with him.

Give my love to the family and tell them all to write often and perhaps I will receive some of them. Your affectionate Son Amos S Pittman

Give my best respects to Mr. Thomas and may he have more than he can attend to.

Culloma May 27th/52

Dear Mother

'Tis a very long time since I have written to you. But it is not from neglect But as you are alone I thought you might perhaps be away from home. I have enjoyed good health since I last wrote and hope you do the same. So far this winter I have done very well But my claim also the water has nearly give out and as it always is very hard to find mines in the summer where there is plenty of water. I may spend all my money to find them I should go to work at my old trade but the shops are overrun with men and plenty of them all over the county.

I have made up my mind and before this scribbling reaches you I will be ploughing the Blue Pacific once more still crying westward Ho-Ho—I am going to try my fortune among the Gold mines of John Bull's colonies in the Indian ocean and about six thousand miles from Cal 'tis not a very long while since they were discovered the person[22] came from New Australia in /49 he remained but a short time for he was well satisfied there was Gold in Australia A few months after his return he discovered it in much larger quantites than here, So far the Gold has been found to extend about six hundred miles long and three hundred wide a friend of mine rec a letter from his Family a few days ago they stated that his Father takes out 80 oz. per week for some time back.

I know you will blame me very much that a rolling stone gathers no moss will not apply in this case for I might stop here for a very long while before I made enough to return home with unless I accidentally hit upon it all at once and there is not much chance of that. I have a roving disposition to see the world and I might as well see it while I am young for the sooner I sow my wild oats the better. I would not go way from here if it was not that so many thousand arrive here every month and the mines are so much exhausted that [it] is only waste of time for me to stop here.

Tell Robert Thomas that I have written several time to Dan but never rec any answer from him I should like very much to have his company with me. I shall leave the country about the middle of July or thereabouts.

Give my love to all the family and adieu until you hear from me again.

Your Affectionate Son Amos S Pittman

P.S. I shall write before leaving Still a Gold seeker

John Gay

inform Mr. Joseph Homan that I am about leaving Cal.

Give him my Best respects Yours Truly ASP

[Note added on the preceding letter.]

Monday Evening July 19th ½ past 8

Dear Mother

We received this letter on Friday directed to you also one for us, this was mailed at Cullona June the fifth ours at San Francisco June the sixteenth he writes a shor[t] letter to us saying that he was to sail the fifteenth and it would be a long while before we should hear from him he will write again when he stops at the Sandwich Islands we are to direct all letters to Sydney New Australia he writes that the old Ship Salem is about the centre of the city of San Francisco with a large house built on it. Since he was there they have built the City clear out in the river on Spiles [piles] that is all that he writes of importance he send his love to all the family.

H A R Gay

I have written this in a great hurry as the mail goes at 9 o'clock

[A grease spot is on the letter and she writes] This grease spot came from California treasure it up

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Sydney New South Wales Feby 28th 1853

Dear Mother

When I last wrote home I was then on the Navigators island[23] in the employ of a Gentleman by the name of Mr. Robinson part owner of the Ship Orpheus that I came [on] from Cal. here. I have been trading for hogs, cocoa nut oil, & arrowroot. the hogs were for the Cal. market. I liked the island very much 'tis a very warm climate but that I am used too. here you have all kinds of fruit that grow in the tropics. And the Natives are very friendly But, very indolent habits. Since I have been on the islands I have got Married My wife is not quite as white as you would wish, but still she will do for me.

While I was here the owner Mr. Robinson has purchased two more vessels for the island trade in the South Pacific he fitted one of them out with a Cargo of oil for this market and wished me to go as Super Cargo but I refused at first. As he could not get any other person that he would trust I had to take the billet myself. before I left he made me some very good offers if I would remain with him. he offered me first a percentage on all the business that I transacted for him the next offer was a share in the business as he did not wish to go around the islands himself If I accept that I must be to sea two thirds of the time so I would not give him a decisive answer until my return. So the first of Jany. we made sail for Sydney on the passage the Captain was learning me Navigation so before I arrived here I could take the Sights I work the position of the vessel so you need not be surprised the next time I write that I'll be Master of one of the vessels for I like the sea better than I do land. After my arrival here I sold the Cargo and got more than the common market price and laid up the vessel until the other arrives which I am expecting every day.

Sydney is a City that I do not like the inhabitants are very insulting to all Americans so much so if you speak one word about the States nine times out of ten it will create a row so that we must keep our mouths shut. they have very beautiful roads made by the convicts sent here from England The roads are all Macadamized as there is plenty of Stone here. they have here what they call a market but you can buy nothing Scarcely but beef & mutton and that very poor. fruits are sold by the doze[n] and I have paid twenty five cents a dozen for peaches that we would not feed the hogs on. the streets and all public buildings are lighted with gas. it is a very dirty place on account of the sand hills outside of the City. At the present there is great excitement about the Gold fields here I have seen & heard of a number of my Cal. acquaintances that came here and made there piles And hearing of such news every day I think I shall try my fortunes once more in mines. But I cannot tell for certain until Mr. Robinson's Arrival as he wishes me very much to remain with him. When I stopped at the islands I sent some $700/100 with a friend to purchase goods for me he arrived here and found such news that he went to the mines and sent $400/100 leaving me minus $300/100 I expect I will come across him yet and then let him look out for himself. the owner Mr. Robinson is in debt to me about $750/100 so that I am not without funds. I shall as soon as he arrives I go and try dame fortune once more if I make anything well and good if not 'twill be all the same to me for I have a home on the islands to go to always.

I hardly know how to inform you where to direct my letters for to day I am at one place to morrow I may take a notion and go hundreds of miles away. But, you had better direct them at San francisco to remain in the P.O. until called for. Tell John Gay to inform Mr. Homan that on my arrival at Sydney I found a letter in the P.O. from him it was remailed at Cal. by a Mr. Hannam I was very Glad to hear from him and hope to hear further. Give my best respects to Mr. Thomas and Job Quesiple, And tell them I always think of the times gone by and that they may come again by and by. God only knows when I will return home one thing is certain I will never return till I make something worth returning with, for the world owes me a living and I am going to have it. I have come this far for it and sure I shall not leave without it. My paper is nearly full So I must bring these lines to a close until another opportunity offers remember me to all the family and never forget

Yours affectionately
Amos S Pittman the Wild Rover

Red bank[24] Sept 18th/64

My dear Mother

I know not what apology to make for my long silence and therefore must crave your forgiveness for my apparent negligence the fact is, when I last wrote, we were daily expecting to find the Quartz reef that had cost us so much labor and anxiety but in this we were disappointed for after tunneling two hundred feet at a depth of one hundred and fifty feet we were compelled to relinquish our efforts for want of sufficient funds to prosecute our further search we had already expended nearly four hundred pounds and were unable to do more without incurring heavy debts. After leaving Glengower[25] we tried another gold field about sixteen miles distant in what is termed the Crow district but there we had but very little success scarcely obtaining by our labor more than common neccessarys From there we went to the Blue Mountains about twenty one miles distant again and during our stay we entirely expended all our resources and were compelled to retrace our steps to Amherst.[26]

I should weary you by a detailed description of all we have undergone and the privations to which we have been subjected. After working near Amherst for some time raising Quartz that only realized five pennyweight to the ton we left for this place and being informed by a Store Keeper with whom we were acquainted that there was work to be obtained in a Sluising Co. seven miles distant we applied on his recommendation were offered half shares in the Co., this, on representation made to us, we ultimately accepted, the more readily, as we were led to believe the wash dirt would yield from five to six dwts. to the load and that there was at least eighteen months work, We were six working men and in five months we had on the surface more than three hundred loads of debris, but as the winter has been unusually dry around this part of the Country we had no water to test the real value of labor however rain at last Came and after sluicing we find we have been sadly deceived as the average yield has been one dwt to the load, by which we are left loaded with debt and without at present any visible means of extricating ourselves. the ground that was represented to last eighteen months we completely worked out in five and we are left to make the best arrangement we can with our Creditors who we have every reason to believe will not be very hard upon us. This then must be my apology, for from the little success we have met with I have not had the heart to write before but enough of this uninteresting Subject.

The great pleasure I derived from receiving your letter I have not language to express and can only say that I am grateful to the Author of all Good who has mercifully given you health and faculty to accomplish So much at your advanced time of life. May He ever continue to look thus mercifully upon you, and may it also be his kind will that we may yet meet again in this world. . . .

It gives me much pleasure to hear you spend your time so agreeably at Frisbees,[27] but that is so long since I fear almost to look back to it lest any event may have occured to make regret more keenly than I do. My long silence forgive me my dear Mother and let me hear from you again if the task be not too irksome if so the letters I have already received shall be religiously preserved as mementos from her of whom I had my being.

As it is my intention to write to my sister Eliza[28] I must bring my long letter to a Conclusion—thanking you all for your kind wishes and with the earnest hope I shall ever Continue to deserve them and that this will meet you in the enjoyment of perfect health and happiness.

I remain My dear Mother Your ever affectionate and dutiful son
Amos S Pittman

Ballarat April 22/70

My dear Niece[29]

A thousand congratulations and as many kind wishes for your health, happiness, and prosperity is all your poor old, long absent Uncle Amos can at present send you. May every year of your life be crowned with success, and oh! may you prove a comfort and blessing to your husband and may he, on his part, prove all you can desire, and by his steady perseverance, may he be, in a short time, able to realise sufficient to restore you once more to the arms of your loving parents.

I have had a long letter from your mother whom I have answered by the same mail that brings this to you. I am sincerely grieved to hear of sad bereavements that have occurred in the family but God's will be done we must all leave this transitory State when it is His good pleasure to Call us hence, and May He who knows all our hearts prepare us for that great change this is but a protection but while we are here, let us strive to prepare ourselves for the life eternal and at our last hour May we be enable to say—"I have fought the good fight; I have finished my Course; henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of glory which God the rightious Judge, Shall give to those who have obeyed his will." And now my dear Niece I should feel obliged by either yourself or your husband writing to let me know how California, generally, is looking; for although the first part of my mining life was spent there, it is seventeen years since I left it, and the great Changes, that must have occurred during that period Make Me feel as if I had never seen it. Is it likely, If I Come I Can obtain Employment. and what is the rate of wages now paid? tell me this, and also give me any other information you Can, so that I may know what to expect, as I have Made up My Mind to leave this Country, if God permits me, within the next twelve Months. I am heartily tird of Victoria. for during the last four years, I have only been able to procure a livilihood by dint of the hardest labour, and I begin to feel I am not So well able to bear the wear and tear of hard work as I once was—do not therfore fail to write to Me at your Earliest Convenience. God bless and prosper you both and May I be once More with those I love is the Sincerest prayer

of Your Affectionate Uncle Amos S. Pittman

Mrs. Oliver Smith

address Care of Mr. George Goddard East St. Ballarat East Victoria, Australia

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Leigh Creek W. Ballarat June 5.. 1870

My dear Niece,

The bearers of this are Mr. and Mrs. Howell, who after an absence of several years have at length determined to return to their native country Mr. Howell was once living near Astoria[30] and as he intends, D. V. to return thither he will be happy to be the bearer of any correspondence you may wish to encumber him with. I have taken this opportunity of writing to your dear Mother, in which, I have again assured her of my intention of returning home, with God's blessing, at the end of the year by way of California, where I hope to have an opportunity of seeing my dear Niece and her husband as I return from my long wanderings.

As I wrote to you so recently I will not trouble you with a lengthened letter on the present occasion, and therefore wait with patience till I shall hear from you when I will again write.

Trusting this will meet you all in health, as it leaves me and that you will extend your hospitality to the friends that I have introduced to your notic

I remain My dear Niece
Ever yours affectionately Amos S Pittman

Wedderburn Victoria Australia
Aug 5. 1873.

My dear Niece,

As I am, at present under medical treatment I have requested my friend Mr Stone to write for me, as I find my nerves rather unsteady.

Your letter, annexed to your dear father's dated Dec. 13th 1872, I only received about four weeks ago, and although that, together with a letter from my sister had been sometime landed, Goddard did not forward them to me for more than a month after he had received them, this was too bad, as I had written to him acquainting him with my present place of abode.

These letters were the first to acquaint me with the death of my dear sister[31] and nephew,[32] and I mourn, and sympathise with you for the loss we have all sustained, but we must meekly bow to His Will who ordereth all things for the best. I know how hard it is to part from those we love, but we must not grieve as those that have no hope, for we feel assured they have left this for a better and a happier home, where the wicked cease from [illegible] and where the weary are at rest, and that they were prepared for the great change, having made their calling and election sure. God grant, my dear Niece, that we may be, likewise, so prepared, when it shall please Him to call us hence, and that we too may hear the grateful call, 'Come, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'

It grieves me to hear you are enjoying such poor health; can it be that the climate does not agree with you? or is it the many changes that have taken place, in our family, in the last few years, have rendered you more susseptible to illness than heretofore? I hope, however, a change for the better will speedily take place, and that when I have the pleasure of hearing from you again, both yourself and your dear children will be restored to health and happiness. I thank you very much for Frank's likeness. I have carefully compared it with the one you sent me some years ago, and find the same pleasing expression in them both. certainly it is a sweet countenance, and one in which you can trace the lineaments of purity and goodness; Mr. Stone, with whose name you are not wholly unacquainted, has composed a poem a copy of which I have sent you, and which I am sure will please you. I like it, and think it an appropriate tribute to one so young, so pure and good. It must have been a severe trial for him to be the sole attendant on his dear mother, and although it was a labour of love, yet, it must have affected his nervous system, and rendered him less liable to withstand the trying influences of typhoid fever; however, it has pleased God to remove him to another, and a better world, whither it will be our lot, I pray, one day to follow him. neither must we question why the Almighty has in his wisdom seen fit to remove him from us, but say with humble hearts, 'Not my will, but Thine O God, be done'. I see by your father's letter how deeply he feels his deprivation, but I pray God to give him patience to bear his losses with Christian fortitude, and that he may say with him of old, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, Blessed be the name of the Lord."

I am sorry to inform you I have been suffering for some time, with severe pains and noises in the head, and am now, as I mentioned at the commencement of this letter, under medical treatment for it. I have undergone a severe course of blistering, and the doctor assures me he understands this complaint, and that it requires strong treatment to overcome it, but that there is nothing serious to be apprehended. I hope soon to be in health again.

You know how I long to see you all, and although I should make but a rough nurse still I would do my best to make your children love me, but God knows when I shall be able to accomplish it. I have been working now steadily mining for many years, and am, unfortunately, no better off than I should have been had I never left my home, to try my fortune in gold bearing countries, but it is useless regretting what is past.

I have no news that will interest you in any way for I live, with Mr. Stone and his son entirely in the bush, far from a large township. we have been living and toiling together for the last sixteen years, and they are the only two with whom I am on any terms of intimacy.

God bless you my dear niece, give my kind love to your husband, and to my brother George when you see him. Kiss the children for me, and believe me ever,

Your loving and affectionate Uncle
Amos S Pittman

NOTES

1. Probably refers to a brother, George Washington Pittman, Jr.

2. The *Salem* was a fast-sailing New York-built ship of 800 tons burthen, coppered and copper fastened and having a six-and-a-half foot space between decks. She was com-

manded by Capt. Thomas A. Eldridge, and had been purchased for the voyage by a group of gold seekers, who had formed themselves into an organization called the New York and California Mutual Benefit Association; 150 shares in the association at $150 per share were to be sold. Advantages to the shareholders included ownership in the vessel, one year's supply of "provisions of superior quality," mining implements, tools, scows, and boats. The members were required to furnish their own bedding. Early meetings of the association were held in a basement room of Tammany Hall. For a time, the proprietors of this well-known edifice acted as treasurers of the association and received subscriptions.

By mid-February 1849, the *Salem* was lying at Pier 30, foot of Roosevelt St., East River, N. Y., and all business connected with the association was being transacted on board. Apparently financial difficulties were encountered, since the association advertised that it would take a few California-bound passengers for $150 each and about 500 barrels of freight. It was also found necessary to assess the members of the association another $50, "to meet the deficiency," and additional shares at $200 each were offered for sale. The sailing date was postponed from time to time, probably due to difficulty in selling the additional shares and in meeting expenses. About two weeks before the *Salem* actually departed for California, a new assessment of $25 was required of all association members to cover expenses. New York *Herald*, Jan. 6-8, 11-15, 29-30, Feb. 8, 15-17, 22-28, March 1-6, 1849, advertising columns headed "Ho! for California."

3. The ship *Salem*, Captain Eldridge, cleared New York, bound for San Francisco, March 12, 1849; 196 passengers were aboard. The name of Amos S. Pittman is not included in the published lists. New York *Tribune*, March 12 and 22, 1849.

4. T. H. Weathered, one of the directors of the association. New York *Tribune*, March 22, 1849, and New York *Herald*, Feb. 15 and 22, 1849, advertising columns headed "Ho! for California."

5. Rufus Chase, secretary of the association. New York *Herald*, Feb. 8, 1849, advertising column headed "Ho! for California."

6. The *Lexington* sailed from San Francisco, Nov. 25, 1848, bound for Valparaiso and New York, with $300,000 of California gold on board. Thomas ap C. Jones to John Y. Mason, sec. of the navy, flag ship *Ohio*, San Francisco, Nov. 24, 1848, *in* "Pacific Squadron [letters], Commo. Jones Cruise, November 4, 1847 to July 1, 1850." National Archives, Washington, D.C.

7. Talchuano, Chile.

8. Probably intended for August 20.

9. The *Alta California*, Oct. 18, 1849, noted the arrival of the American ship *Salem* on Oct. 12, after a voyage of 214 days from New York; 203 passengers were on board. The *Pacific News*, Oct. 16, 1849, stated that the *Salem* carried 196 passengers, the number with which it sailed from New York.

10. Probably George Higgins, who married a sister of Amos S. Pittman.

11. For first-hand descriptions of this incident, *see* Erwin Gudde, present issue of the QUARTERLY.

12. Williamsburgh, N. Y. At the time, it was a separate city, but in 1855 it was merged with the city of Brooklyn. Its name survives as a district of the borough of Brooklyn.

13. Probably refers to the wife of his brother, George Washington Pittman, Jr., who was Henrietta Hawley.

14. Roe Haviland Smith, who married Margaret Eliza Pittman, a sister of Amos S. Pittman.

15. Probably refers to J. Frisbee, who married Harriet Emeline Pittman, another sister.

16. John Gay married Hester Ann Rogers Pittman, the youngest sister of Amos S. Pittman.

17. Anna Maria Pittman, the oldest of the thirteen children in the Pittman family. She was sent as a missionary to the Indians at the Oregon mission near the present Salem, Ore., in 1835 by the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. She had been more or less selected by the mission board as a wife for the founder of the mission, the Rev. Jason Lee. A few weeks after her arrival at the mission in the spring of 1836, after a voyage from Boston via Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands, she was married to Reverend Lee and had the distinction of being the first white woman married in Oregon. Mrs. Lee died about a year later, several days after the birth and death of her infant son. She and the baby were buried near the mission. Some years later, their bodies were removed to Salem, Ore., and now rest in the missionary plot of the Lee Mission Cemetery. Theressa Gay, *Life and Letters of Mrs. Jason Lee, First Wife of Rev. Jason Lee of the Oregon Mission* (Portland, Ore., c1936).

18. Ringgold was an early mining camp (1848). It was situated about two miles south of Old Dry Diggings, later called Hangtown and now known as Placerville, and about one mile east of Diamond Springs. However, William Edmundson, an overland emigrant of 1850, locates Ringgold on Webber Creek and eight miles west of Placerville. "Weaverville and Ringgold may properly be called the same village," he says in his diary. "The eastern part . . . is called Ringgold, and the lower part Weavertown." The place derived its name from the ring-shaped character of the gold found there; but the ring was always broken. Thomas S. Bayley, "The First Overland Mail Bag to California" (manuscript, Bancroft Library; *Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express Directory* (San Francisco, 1880); "Diary kept by William Edmundson, of Oskaloosa, while crossing the Western Plains in 1850," *Annals of Iowa*, 3d ser., VIII, 535; and two letters written by Warren T. Russell, Oakland, Calif., Oct. 18 and 24, 1949, to the present writer.

19. The sawmill at Coloma had been built by James W. Marshall at the instigation of John A. Sutter. They were equal partners in the enterprise, Sutter financing it while Marshall supervised construction. Some months after Marshall's discovery of gold in the millrace on Jan. 24, 1848, Sutter sold his half-interest to Alden S. Bayley of Mississippi and John Winters of Missouri, both of whom had arrived in California in the fall of 1848, after an overland journey. They also bought one-third of Marshall's half-interest. The new firm of Bayley, Winters, and Marshall operated the mill through the gold rush of 1849. Bayley, in the summer of that year, sold his interest to Clarkson Dye, who failed to make the agreed payments. Thereupon Bayley took back his interest. In May 1850, Bayley again sold his share to John T. Little, an enterprising Coloma business man. The new sawmill firm came to be known as the Coloma Mill Co. Little planned, unsuccessfully as it turned out, to put a tunnel through the hill opposite the sawmill, in order to divert the river and make its bed accessible for mining. Meanwhile, Little's two mill partners had borrowed $2000 from him and had given him a mortgage on their shares in the sawmill business as security. Later, he obtained an assignment of all outstanding indebtedness to the firm by third parties. This made him virtually the sole owner of the mill. Financial difficulties began to press upon him. He had to abandon his plan for diverting the river as being too costly. In consequence, he was quite willing to dispose of the mill and millrace for a price. Thomas S. Bayley, "Sales and Transfers of Sutters Fort and Mill" (manuscript, Bancroft Library); "Alden S. Bayley to John T. Little, May 25, 1850" (deed), Record A, 58-59, Recorder's Office, El Dorado County Courthouse, Placerville, Calif.; also "John T. Little to Alden S. Bayley, May 25, 1850" (mortgage), Record A, 56-57; "John Winters and James W. Marshall to John T. Little, June 11, 1850" (mortgage), Record A, 96-98; "Winters and Marshall *vs.* John T. Little, Oct. 23, 1850" (assignment), Record A, 202; and *California Courier* (San Francisco), Jan. 1, 1851.

20. This probably refers to the foreign miners' tax. Because of the resentment of miners from the states against the large number of foreigners in the mines, California's first

legislature passed an act, in the spring of 1850, "for the better regulation of the Mines, and the government of Foreign Miners." It required all foreign miners to take out a license (for which they had to pay $20 monthly or their claims would be confiscated), and was to remain in effect until such time as the U. S. Congress should pass a law assuming control of the mines of the state. Collectors of licenses were sent to all mining communities to collect the tax, disguised as a license fee. When the measure was first enforced, many mining camps, largely made up of foreigners, were almost depopulated. The law was vicious; much trouble and even bloodshed resulted from it. *Statutes of California,* 1850, pp. 221-23; and *A History of Tuolumne County, California* (San Francisco, 1882), pp. 26-33.

21. The fire of May 4, 1851.

22. Edward Hammond Hargraves of New South Wales who, after mining in California in 1849, returned home and discovered gold in Australia, February 12, 1851. *See* Edward Hammond Hargraves, *Australia and its gold fields* (London, 1855).

23. An early name for Samoa.

24. In Victoria, Australia.

25. In Victoria, Australia.

26. A mining borough in Talbot County, Victoria, Australia.

27. Mr. and Mrs. J. Frisbee, a brother-in-law and sister of Amos S. Pittman.

28. Margaret Eliza Pittman Smith (Mrs. Roe Haviland Smith).

29. Sarah Amelia Smith, a daughter of Margaret Eliza and Roe Haviland Smith. After her marriage to Oliver Smith in Astoria, New York, she and her husband came to California. They resided in San Francisco for four or five years and then moved to Oakland (statement of their daughter, Miss Mary F. Smith).

30. Formerly a village on Long Island but now within New York City.

31. Mrs. Roe Haviland Smith who died in Astoria, New York.

32. Frank Smith who died in California while on a visit to his sister, Mrs. Oliver Smith, about the same time that his mother passed away in the East (statement of Miss Mary F. Smith).

Mutiny on the Ewing

By Erwin G. Gudde

VIEWS of San Francisco harbor in 1849 show numerous sailing vessels at anchor. These pictures tell a story. The masters had succeeded in navigating their vessels through the Golden Gate and anchoring in or near Yerba Buena Cove; but there the journey for many of them ended; within a few days the sailors were off to the gold fields. If the captain or the supercargo did not want to abandon the ship, he had to pay the crew a monthly wage ranging between $130 and $150, plus sustenance. One can surmise the demoralizing effect this had upon the seamen of navy and government vessels, on which an able seaman at that time received only a fraction of the wages paid to sailors of merchantmen, who often did not know the first thing about sailing. Utmost vigilance on the part of the officers was necessary to prevent wholesale desertion and to keep unsullied the tradition of the U. S. navy for devotion to duty.

On the night of September 13, 1849, occurred a mutiny on the gig of the U. S. survey schooner *Ewing*, a full account of which, as far as I know, has never appeared in print. Contemporary newspaper reports are contradictory, and the rather romantic story which the Rev. J. L. Ver Mehr tells in the 1877 edition of his *Checkered Life* is not reliable in detail, although doubtless true as far as his own personal connections with the sad affair are concerned. Lewis McArthur in his account of the activities of his grandfather, William P. McArthur, in the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* of September 1915, as well as other writers, just allude to the incident. Col. Fred B. Rogers called my attention to an account by the victim of the mutiny, Passed Midshipman William Gibson, published in the *Army and Navy Journal*, March 9, 1878, and reprinted in the *Pioneer* of San Jose, February 26, 1881. The entire story, however, has apparently never been told.

Late in 1850, a year after the mutiny, the *Ewing* was to convey George Davidson and his party of the U.S. Coast Survey to Monterey. But the ill-starred vessel seemed again to have had a Jonah on board: she was disabled in a southeaster off Point Ano Nuevo, was forced to turn back to San Francisco, anchored on the bar, was caught in a swell and lost her anchor. Davidson's party had to take the Pacific Mail steamer *Carolina* to reach Monterey, but the few days on the *Ewing* had given Davidson a chance to hear the story of the mutiny from the very officers who had witnessed it. More than sixty years later, Davidson took up his notes again with the intention of publishing the account of this almost forgotten episode of naval history. His health failed him and he did not progress beyond collecting the material, which, at his death on December 2, 1911, passed into the hands of the historian Zoeth S. Eldredge. He too was prevented from writing the story. Thus it has fallen to me, Davidson's biographer, to bring to light again the mutiny on the *Ewing*. A perusal of the material, most of which is found in the Davidson papers, now in possession of the University of California, soon convinced me that the drama would unfold itself with greater vividness if the principal documents were allowed to speak for themselves; that is, extracts from the log of the *Ewing*, parts of Davidson's sketches based on the accounts of eye-witnesses, and copies of documents from the archives of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. The antecedents of the mutiny are given in a statement by H. Tittmann, superintendent of that survey, in a letter to Davidson dated June 10, 1911:

> The schooner *Ewing*, after repairing and outfitting in New York, put to sea on January 10, 1849, bound for San Francisco. She was in command of Lt. Commander Washington H. Bartlett, U.S.N. She reached Rio de Janeiro on March 7th and sailed again March 25th; rounded Cape Horn April 15th; reached Valparaiso May 14th; and San Francisco on August 1st—anchored first at Sausalito, near the camp of the Joint Commission of the Army and Navy.
>
> Lt. Commdr. William P. McArthur [who was to take charge of the schooner in San Francisco] left Washington for San Francisco via the Isthmus on March 17th and reached Panama without much delay, but there was a tedious wait there for a steamer to take him to San Francisco. About 2,500 gold seekers were then in Panama waiting for a chance to go to San Francisco. No steamer coming they at length purchased the ship *Humboldt*, which sailed with Capt. McArthur in command and 360 passengers. They had calms and head winds and called at Acapulco for supplies July 9th, 46 days from Panama, and reached San Francisco August 31st.
>
> Except for a reconnaissance trip to Benicia, no work was done by the *Ewing* until Lt. Commdr. McArthur assumed command on September 6th. The next day the schooner proceeded to Monterey Bay and remained there until the 11th, but no work is mentioned in the log. She returned to her anchorage of San Francisco on the 12th.
>
> The mutiny occurred the following night.
>
> The schooner was at Bodega from August 26th to September 6th, hoping to prevent desertions, which accounts for the delay of Commander McArthur in assuming command. While at Bodega, on September 2nd, four men stole the dinghy and deserted.

Gibson's account, referred to above, was published almost thirty years after the mutiny and reads, in part, as follows:

> On or about the 11th of September, 1849, I was a passed midshipman on board the U.S. schooner *Ewing*, Lieut. Comd'g McArthur, lying in the bay of San Francisco, about two miles off from the strange collection of frame shanties, tents, and ancient adobes, that then constituted the city of San Francisco. She was a coast survey vessel, officered and manned by and under the discipline of the Navy. Several cruising men-of-war and store-ships of the squadron were in port, and the flag of Commodore T. Ap Catesby Jones flew from the line of battleship *Ohio*. On shore the gold excitement was at its wildest. . . . The temptation was great; the crews would, if they could, have deserted nearly to a man. The extremest exercise of power conferred by naval law and the sharpest vigilance were necessary to prevent this; the muskets of the marines were kept loaded, the watch officers wore their pistols, and the officers in command of boats always backed into the landing drawn revolver in hand. With these precautions the desertions had been few; the only flagrant case, which happened a short time previous to my affair, having been the pulling on shore, in broad daylight and under fire, of an extemporaneous crew in the *Ohio's* launch.

> On the evening in question a number of Army officers and citizens from shore had dined on board the *Ewing*. In place of the very young lad who usually did boat duty, I volunteered to take charge. I remembered afterwards that, by the light of the side lantern, I noticed a look and start of surprise in one or two of the boat's crew. Perhaps they apprehended a more difficult job than they had expected; perhaps it was true what they pleaded on their trial, that they had an especial liking for me, and (to quote the ghastly foregone conclusion in Keats' poem) were a little sorry for their "murdered man". It was a crew of five. The night was one of Egyptian darkness, and the ebb tide ran so strongly that it attracted attention. The log was hove from the *Ewing* and showed four knots. Receiving a caution from Rhind, our executive, not to be caught under the bows of the merchantmen that lay between us and the shore, I shoved off. Backing into a small wharf, where Sansome Street now is, a pistol in each hand, I landed my passengers and started to return. When about half way to the nearest merchant vessel, some hundreds of yards from the shore, I put back my pistols and resumed the yoke ropes. In a few moments, the after oarsman, John Black, with a hoarse exclamation, threw his oar out of the rowlock and himself upon me. Struggling to my feet, I found myself clutched by several of the others. Their first effort seemed to be to get possession of my pistols, but very soon one of them (Peter Black, I think) exclaimed: "Damn him, throw overboard—that's the quickest way!" With this I found my arms free, and seized John Black by his neckerchief, dragging him overboard with me. Twisting it with one hand, I attempted to draw a pistol with the other, but the man was too heavy for me, the rest were striking at me with the oars, and, though an expert swimmer, I had to let go, wholly exhausted and half drowned. I swam off a little way, saw them help Black into the boat and settle into their places, and, with the question, "What will you give us to save your life?" they pulled off. Whether this was a real offer or a taunt, as I made no reply, I can never know. By this time my heavy clothes were saturated and I could just tread water, but I was so mortified and angry that I did not call for help until I heard the sound of their oars grow faint in the distance. Then I noticed that I was fast sweeping past the lights of the town, and for the first time realized in what deadly peril I was. I cried out that I was drowning, I heard shouts and excited noises of people on shore; then the sound of oars, felt myself swallowing a great deal of water, wondered why, and—I knew no more.
>
> There was a sense of strangulation—no suffering. . . . All that I remember is, for one moment, a keen endeavor to realize the fact I was to penetrate the mystery of Death, and I could not comprehend it.

This account gives a more dramatic picture of the affair than the brief report which Gibson made to McArthur under date of September 21, 1849. Both accounts, however, agree in every essential detail except that Gibson stated in his original report that he had pulled *two* of the mutineers into the water with him.

Gibson's contention that the only other serious breach of navy discipline occurred when "an extemporaneous crew" tried to flee from the *Ohio* in her launch is probably due to a slip in his memory. The escape of four of the *Ewing's* men in her dinghy from Bodega was a serious incident, and there is no reason to doubt Superintendent Tittmann's statement which was based on records from the archives of the Coast Survey. These men probably never succeeded in making their way from Bodega through the Golden Gate but were swept out into the ocean. At any rate, there is no further mention of the incident in the available documents.

One statement, which occurs in both of Gibson's accounts as well as in some of the contemporary newspaper stories, is questionable, namely that Gibson was rescued by a boat sent from the shore. In view of the swift tide and the complete darkness it would have been almost impossible for people to reach the midshipman in a rowboat and to prevent his drowning. Hence, George Davidson's account of the rescue appears more plausible:

> During the day an English merchantman had come into the bay and anchored about a mile north of the *Ewing,* off Clark's point. Her commander had been ashore that evening and about the exact time of the attack upon Mr. Gibson, his boat was pulling alongside the ladder which had been lowered for him to come aboard, and a lantern was lowered over the landing step, that he might make good his first footing. As he looked down to make sure of his foothold he saw the upturned face of a man sweeping fast between the boat and the landing step. Quick as thought he made a sudden grasp for the man and caught him by the hair. Then by assistance of the watch on deck the apparently lifeless body of the officer was taken on deck. The usual means of resuscitating a drowned person were applied. The uniform of Mr. Gibson disclosed his character and nationality; and as the Master had, during the [day] noticed a small vessel ahead of him flying the American flag he sent word to the *Ewing* when the commanding officer sent a boat for the body which was taken to the *Ewing* and afterwards to the Hospital.

The perpetrators of the crime, who had fled in the gig, were Jonathan Biddy, John Black, Peter Black, Henry Commerford, and William Hall. To capture these men and bring them to swift justice was important in the interest of navy discipline. There was little doubt that the mutineers had fled in the direction of the mines. At daylight of September 14, a party of trusted sailors under Lieutenant Bartlett and one or two midshipmen were dispatched to "the Contra Costa" to track them down. It was assumed that the mutineers would soon abandon the gig which could be easily seen on the water. At that time, an abandoned ship, the *Audly Clarke,* was grounded somewhere between modern Pittsburg and Antioch. Because of the peculiar hydrographic conditions of the delta region, this ship had become a stopping point on the way to and from the mines and was a well-known landmark in 1849. It was considered worthwhile to watch this place, and rightly so, for it was at this very point that the journey of the five deserters ended abruptly. Among the conflicting accounts of the capture, Davidson's sketch seems again to be the most plausible:

> Nothing was seen of the deserters, no boat had passed through Karquines Strait. They [Bartlett's party] reached the hull of a ship, near the mouth of the San Joaquin river [i.e. the *Audly Clarke*], which was used as a stopping place for persons going to or returning from the mines. The proprietor was approached: no man had gone by, and he entered into a plan to capture the deserters should they approach the ship. The *Ewing's* boat was secreted in the tules, and the officers and crew were in hiding on the ship. About noon the deserters were seen to approach the hull from the swamp, and were so muddy and dirty, with faces swollen by mosquito bites the concealed officers could not recognize them. The proprietor soon had proof of their being [the] deserters and they were seized by the officers and held for the coming of the *Ewing.*
>
> The *Ewing* reached New York of the Pacific [present Pittsburg Landing], and

brought the deserters to San Francisco and Lieut. Comd'g McArthur reported the whole matter to the senior officer of the vessels of war then anchored at San Francisco and Sausalito.

At nine A.M. on September 20 the five men were transferred to the frigate *Savannah,* the new flagship of Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, and on the eighth of October the five were found guilty by a court martial:

> The Naval General Court Martial which assembled on board the U. S. Sloop of War *Warren,* at anchor in this port, on Monday the 8th inst. for the trial of John Black, Jonathan Biddy, William Hall, Peter Black and Henry Cameford [*sic*], seamen belonging to the Navy of the United States, and attached to the U. S. Surveying Schooner *Ewing,* having closed its proceedings in their case by finding the accused as above named guilty of "Mutiny, Desertion, and running away with a boat, the property of the United States," and John Black, further guilty of desertion and *Attempt to Kill,* and having adjudged each and every one of the aforenamed seamen to suffer "Death by hanging until they are dead at the yard arms of such vessels in the service of the United States, and at such time, and in such waters as the Commodore of the United States Squadron in the Pacific Ocean may think proper to direct", which sentence after the most mature reflection and a full consideration of the circumstances connected therewith, has been approved by the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Squadron, is hereby ordered to be carried into execution at the hour of *Eleven,* A.M. on Tuesday, the 23d inst.
>
> The following is the order in which the foregoing sentence will be carried into execution by the Commander of each ship and vessel of the squadron.—viz.—
>
> At the fore yard arm of the U. S. Schooner *Ewing,*
> John Black
> At the fore yard arms of the U. S. Frigate *Savannah,*
> Jonathan Biddy,
> William Hall.
> At the fore yard arm of the U. S. Sloop of War *Warren,*
> Peter Black
> At the fore yard arm of the U. S. Sloop of War *StMarys,*
> Henry Commerford.
>
> All needful arrangements for carrying into execution the Sentence of the Court Martial in the foregoing cases, at the appointed hour 11 A.M. on Tuesday the 23d inst.: must be perfected by ten o'clock that morning—when work of every description will be suspended throughout the squadron and the officers and crews of every ship and vessel of the United States, which may at that day be at anchor before the town of San Francisco, on the Bay of San Francisco, will be in mustering dress, officers of every grade in complete undress with cocked hats. At half past ten o'clock the general signal No. 316, "Court Martial, the Sentence to be carried into execution" will be made by the flag ship, accompanied by a gun as a signal for preparation, not only for the ships of the squadron, but as a notice to all others in the port.
>
> Fifteen minutes before eleven, No. 316, will be again hoisted without the preparatory pennant, which will be the signal for taking out the prisoners, calling all hands to witness punishment, reading the sentence, and perfecting all that may then remain to be done prior to the final act, the signal for which will be a yellow flag at the fore truck of each ship and vessel on which executions are to take place. As soon as the yellow flag is displayed on board each ship which it is intended shall wear it, the general signal No. 316 will be hauled down, and one minute thereafter, simultaneously, if possible, the gun of execution will be fired on board the *Savannah, Warren, StMarys* and *Ewing.*
>
> After the bodies have been suspended by the neck thirty minutes, they will be taken

down and deposited in their coffins and immediately thereafter, the crews will be assembled to hear the accompanying address which must be audibly read.

At 1 P.M., or immediately after dinner, all the coffins containing the dead will be sent alongside the *Ewing*, from whence they will be taken ashore and decently interred on the island of Yerba Buena.

The chaplain of the *Savannah* will attend to the prisoner on board this ship, assisted by any other clergyman that he or the prisoners may desire, and clergymen from shore must be invited to attend the executions on board each of the other ships.

(Signed) Thos. Apc. Jones,
Commander in Chief,
U. S. Naval Forces,
Pacific.

Flag Ship, *Savannah*
Bay of San Francisco,
October 19th 1849.

Four days later (October 23), the death sentence of three of the mutineers was commuted. Gibson's plea for mercy doubtless influenced the commodore's decision. The court martial had established the fact that there had been no conspiracy among the members of the crew of the gig. Furthermore, the two Blacks had confessed that they alone had planned the mutiny.

The sentence of death under which Jonathan Biddy, William Hall and Henry Commerford stand condemned, is hereby commuted, and instead thereof each of the aforesaid, Biddy, Hall and Commerford, will receive one hundred lashes on the bare back, serve out the remainder of their term of enlistment without pay, and with a ball and chain on the leg, in solitary confinement, or at hard labor, or alternately both, at such navy yard or other place or places as the Secretary of the Navy may direct.

(Signed) Thos. Apc. Jones
Commander in Chief,
Pacific Squadron.

Flag Ship *Savannah*
Off San Francisco,
23d October, 1849.

The determination of the Commander in Chief to commute the sentence of death against Jonathan Biddy, William Hall and Henry Commerford, is not the result of any diminution of his abhorrence of the offence of which they were convicted by the Naval General Court Martial, nor from the slightest doubt of the justice of the sentence of the court. It was the province and duty of the court sitting in judgment on the accused to pronounce them guilty or not guilty, and the law fixes the penalty of the offence perpetrated, but to the reviewing power is left the exercise of clemency, when mercy can be shown without defeating the primitive ends of justice. It is a humane and merciful maxim, as just as it is charitable, that the life of man should never be taken when anything short of the taking of life would fully meet the ends of justice, and be sufficient punishment for the crime committed. Regarding these humane maxims as principles never to be lost sight of by the reviewing power when *finally* deciding the question of life or death of a fellow being, the *great* question arises whether the discipline of the Navy is so low, or the fidelity of its seamen so little to be relied on, as to forbid the exercise of mercy in the present instance. I cannot, *will not believe it.* What better proof have we than the fact, that, since the law of April 23d 1800 was enacted, for the government of the Navy, now near half a century, this is the first instance with one exception when the sentence of death has ever been passed by a court martial for any other crime than *murder,* nor so far as my information goes, has there ever been more than one person condemned by the same court, or even in the same squadron. With this bright and honorable retrospect, may we not now, can we not now, exercise mercy, and by that mercy disarm the wicked?

I believe we may, and therefore I try the experiment, but let it be remembered that the clemency now shown, is not based upon any claim or *pretence* to it, on the ground that the offences upon which the accused were condemned to die, are not *worthy of death*—No—no such plea can be entered—no such claim can be admitted. *The Sentence of the Court was just, and in strict conformity to the law;* and in exercising the high prerogative of mercy, it is only with the sincere hope and confident expectation that the clemency shown will have a salutary effect in reclaiming the wicked and in confirming the penitent.

(Signed) Thos. Ap C. Jones,
Commander in Chief,
Pacific Squadron.

Flag Ship *Savannah*,
Off San Francisco,
23d October 1849.

On October 23, at 11 A.M., John Black was hanged on board the *Ewing* and Peter Black on board the *Savannah* off Sausalito. The crews of all vessels under the jurisdiction of the U. S. navy were at this hour assembled on board of their ships, where Commodore Jones's address was read to them:

Conformable to the usage of the sea service, it is my painful duty to make some remarks upon the awful spectacle we have just witnessed. To see a fellow being, although he be no closer allied to us than by the common ties of humanity, calmly resign his life in the course of nature to the God who gave it, is, at all times, a grave and a melancholy scene. But when such extreme penalties have to be inflicted on several persons at once, and the same time, and especially by and before those who like ourselves are wholly unaccustomed to such scenes, the like of which has never before occurred in the Navy of the United States, and I pray God in his mercy may never again occur, the effect is appalling, and must strike too deep on the heart and mind of every spectator, not to leave a salutary impression, which no length of time or diversity of circumstances can ever obliterate.

The object of punishment is not vengeance, nor to return evil for evil. For the better security of persons and property the great human family have formed themselves into societies or organized bodies denominated governments,—and these governments, representing the masses, have enacted laws, to restrain the wicked and to punish the guilty. Among those laws is an Act passed by the Congress of the United States entitled "an Act for the better government of the Navy of the United States," approved 23d, April, 1800, and by that Act all persons belonging to the Navy are held and strictly bound to obey. . . .

The general features of the transaction upon which the charges of "Mutiny with intent to Kill" and "Desertion, with an attempt to Kill, and running away with a boat, the property of the United States" were founded and made the subject of trial before the Naval General Court Martial, which convened on board the U. S. Sloop of War *Warren* for that purpose on Monday, the 8th inst. are too well known to the squadron to make it necessary for me here to recite them, sufficient to say that the accused, whose lifeless bodies are now before us, were each and severally convicted after the most patient hearing of all testimony for as well as against them, and aided too, as they were, in their defence by the best and ablest counsel, whose efforts to save do justice alike to his head and his heart, were found guilty of "Mutiny, Desertion, and running away with a boat, the property of the United States," and John Black was further found guilty of doing so with *intent to kill:* the intent to kill consisted in Black's laying violent hands on Passed Midshipman William Gibson of the U. S. Navy, when in charge of a boat belonging to the U. S. Surveying Schooner *Ewing*, on the evening of the 13th of September last. . . .

The discrimination which the court makes between the guilt of John Black and his associates may be attributed to an exuberance of humanity, unaccustomed as that court was, like all officers of the American Navy, to sit in judgement upon such grave and momentous charges.

> In the eye of the law, whatever John Black was guilty of in the transaction of the night of the 13th of September last, all in the boat with him who did not fly to the rescue of their Commanding Officer, are held to be equally guilty . . . and for which all were adjudged to suffer the utmost penalty which it is in the power of human laws to inflict for their transgression. . . .
>
> I cannot dismiss you on this most solemn of all solemn occasions I have ever witnessed, without once more (as I have already often done) admonishing you against the high crime of *Desertion,* a crime which even when unconnected with any other violation of the laws for the Government of the Navy, places the deserter's life in the power of any court martial by which he may be tried. . . .
>
> If there yet remain any among you who meditate desertion, let them ponder well and count the cost before making the attempt; they may escape as some have, but they may be apprehended, tried, condemned and executed, as you now have the most appalling proof before your eyes. Remember that the line of moderate and mild sentences of courts martial for *desertion* has been severed by the sentence of the court by the examples before us . . . which will not be unheeded by future Courts Martial, or by those who have to execute their sentences, when *mercy* to the guilty would be cruelty to the innocent.
>
> (Signed) Thos. Ap C. Jones,
> Commander in Chief,
> Pacific Squadron
>
> Flag Ship *Savannah*
> Bay of San Francisco,
> October 20th, 1849.

The San Francisco clergymen who were assisting the navy chaplain at the execution were three well-known pioneer ministers: Albert Williams, M. Hunt, and J. L. Ver Mehr.

The epilogue to the affair was written in the log of the *Ewing* in the afternoon:

> At 12.30 the body of John Black was lowered and prepared for interment. At 1.30 a boat came alongside from the *Savannah* with the body of Peter Black, and both were sent to the Island of Yerba Buena for interment.

The published official reports of the U.S. Coast Survey pass in silence over these happenings. The party under Lieutenant McArthur had been "under instructions to unite in examination in regard to light-houses; to re-examine entrance to Columbia river; and to commence hydrography in connection with foregoing land operations." Since the land party under Assistant J. S. Williams had met similar, albeit less dramatic, difficulties, the first season of the survey of the Pacific Coast was a failure. Not until the early summer of 1850, after McArthur had assembled a reliable crew and after George Davidson and his party had arrived, could the tremendous task of geodetic and hydrographic survey of the coast be recommenced.

The Rev. Mr. Ver Mehr, in his autobiography, mentioned above, tells the story that, two years later, an English lawyer called at his parsonage at Grace Chapel to inquire about two brothers who had assumed the name Black. They were of good family in Scotland, and a relative, obviously unaware of their execution for mutiny, had left them £20,000. Midshipman Gibson in his account, however, maintains that the appearance of the two sailors called Black was so different that they could not possibly have been brothers.

In January 1851, Commodore Jones, himself, stood before a court martial in Washington, D.C., accused of having used public funds for private purposes in California and, most amazingly, for having executed two men unlawfully. It is, of course, not necessary to try to establish the commodore's innocence on the second count; indeed, if Ver Mehr's story is true, one cannot help thinking that the £20,000, which the so-called Black brothers would have inherited if their lives had been spared, might have had something to do with the bringing of this charge against Jones. For what better purpose could the money, or part of it, be used than for an attempt to establish the innocence of the two British subjects? While Jones was naturally acquitted of the charge of unlawfully hanging the two mutineers, he was found guilty of having used public funds to speculate in gold dust. Thus the career of the navy officer, who was so intimately connected with the acquisition of California, came to an abrupt end because he succumbed, in a different degree, to the same general human impulses which had brought disaster upon the poor wretches of the schooner *Ewing*.

Bear Flag Lieutenant

The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart

By Fred B. Rogers

IV. WITH FREMONT'S BATTALION

(Continued)

On the twenty-third the command, marching through rain, reached the San Marcos rancho, from which the ascent of the mountain was to be made. Again we turn to Kemble for a vivid description of hardship and disaster:

> The morning of Christmas eve broke cheerily, for all our troubles, and gave promise of a clear day. Enlivened by the prospect of a Christmas dinner of frijoles, and possibly a fat ox from the plains around Santa Barbara, the camp awoke in good spirits at the first blasts of [William D.] Miller's bugle. The order had been issued the night before that we were to cross the mountains that day, and it soon transpired that we were to attempt the passage by a narrow path which had been used in former times when the missions were in their glory, but had of late years been abandoned. It was only a bridle path up steep ascents, and though it presented no serious hardships to foot-soldiers, and was even traveled with tolerable ease by our skeleton mules and horses, it was a road full of difficulty to our company of improvised artillerymen.
>
> The field pieces were dragged up by ropes, and our progress was so delayed by the frequent halts where the acclivities seemed unsurmountable, that the day was well nigh gone before we reached the summit of the mountain. A cold wind swept the hights, the sun went down in a bank of ominous clouds, but there was no help for it. We must pass the night on this rocky crest. The fierce blasts almost blew away our little fires of light manzanita brush, and our larder was as bare as the crags around us. But we had our songs and stories for the night before Christmas, and when the bugle sounded retreat stretched our aching bones and empty bellies under the lee of the rocks, wherever a thin layer of earth or a softer stratum of granite than the rest offered a couch, spreading our tattered and muddy blankets between us and the weather.
>
> At midnight the heavens were overspread with clouds, and the wind, which had freshened to a gale, bore to our ears the hoarse, prolonged roar of the ocean. Our sailor-men lay awake and listened, and predicted the roughest and nastiest kind of weather.
>
> At morn the tempest broke. One glimpse of the great, white, wild sea was vouchsafed to those who were first up, and then the clouds closed over it and we were enveloped in mist and driving rain, and nearly caught up into the air by the fury of the pitiless wind. Out from the clefts of the rocks and from behind sheltering crags crept the haggard and shivering soldiers at the command "fall in." "Forward!" but there was no forward, for the exulting gale fairly pinned us to the rocks when we essayed to move.
>
> Our route lay down the mountain by a path almost as difficult as the ascent had been the day before. For a few moments the men stood irresolute and cowering, and then the column began to melt away and disappear in the driving scud like phantoms. Order and discipline were at an end, and every individual must fight a battle for self. Only two organizations remained intact: the artillery company, and the men detailed for the horse guard. The latter strove in vain to compel the horses and mules to face the blinding storm. They wandered hither and thither along the slippery steeps, conscious of their

danger, shivering with cold and terror, but unable to go forward. A few were led down the path and a few more followed and were then forced to go down the descent. The plucky gunners stuck to their field pieces as long as there was a chance in their favor.

But now new difficulties and dangers beset us. The hurricane raging above our heads began to form torrents and cascades along our track. The narrow mule-path we were following became the bed of a foaming mountain river, which loosened stones and bowlders and unrooted young trees in its course. Men and animals were swept before it. For human life there was a foothold, by clinging to the face of projecting rocks and crawling up the steep gully sides; but horses and mules were actually crushed over precipices and either killed outright or crippled beyond cure. . . . In their half-famished state the strength of our soldiers soon gave out. Shoeless and coatless, and hugging their arms under their thin, ragged blankets, many of them sank down benumbed and exhausted wherever the rocks afforded a shelter. . . .

The foothills were reached at last and on the first strip of level ground the sorry fragments of the now famous battalion huddled together and made their miserable camp. By indefatigable labor and perseverance a few fires were lighted. Some of the veteran frontiersmen had led their company pack mules down the mountain, starting very early in the morning. A few other animals had been washed down the rocks and were grouped, more dead than alive, in a place of partial shelter. The rain still fell, and the wind raved, nor did the storm abate until towards morning.

All night long men struggled into camp. Those who had found tolerable shelter, where they could light fires to keep themselves from freezing, remained on the mountain side; a few had found caves and holes, into which they crept and passed the night. The horse guard battled all the morning with a three-fold enemy, the perils of the weather and road, the obstinacy of the mules and the perversity of horse instinct. They were compelled, in order to save their own lives, to abandon them at last, and numbers of the poor beasts perished on the mountains. The gallant artillerists made a desperate struggle to bring off their pieces with them, but in the final *sauve qui pent* [let him save himself who can] they left them high and wet, stuck fast in the perilious pathway. . . .

The storm did not abate until after midnight, and as soon as a lull came, every man that was able crept out of his place of refuge and camp fires began to show their cheerful light along the rocky slope, the first pleasant sight we had seen since entering the mountains. Before the first streak of dawn the men were mustered by companies, parties dispatched to the relief of those unable to reach camp, and an effort was made to get together what was left of our tents and camp equipage, to bring in a few beeves from the adjacent plains and to break our long fast and revive our famishing bodies.

The squads sent up into the pass to search for missing comrades were able to report the safety of the stragglers and to help them into camp in various stages of dilapidation and wretchedness, but represented the scenes along the path of our march the day before as sickening. Over one hundred horses and mules were counted, dying and dead, in the track of the battalion. Nearly the whole day was consumed in recovering baggage and bringing down the mountain the surviving animals. Every man and every company had lost something, and a great many soldiers had lost every article of personal property they owned; with the rest of the battalion, they were only too thankful to get off with their lives. . . .

It was late in the afternoon of December 27th before the little column of tatterdemalions was again in motion, headed towards Santa Barbara, distant eight or ten miles. . . . The battalion encamped a short distance north of the ancient town, in a grove of oaks near the seashore, and did not move again until the 3d of January. During our encampment at Santa Barbara the boys made up for their Christmas toil and fast by keeping the rest of the holiday season in backwoods fashion—roaring camp-fires at night, fat sides of beef with salt to season it, bread baked in the ashes or upon sticks, coffee and sugar, and even milk. Never was good fare so keenly relished. Native wine and aguardiente were to be had in the town, but drunkenness and disorder were rare.[132]

Lieutenant Talbot and his men, who had been forced out of Santa Barbara about three months earlier, now had the satisfaction of raising the American flag over the nearly deserted town.[133] There is some evidence that Frémont intended to enter Santa Barbara "with fire and sword," but, if so, he relented and contented himself with ordering searches for arms. Paroles were accepted from such residents as could be induced to return by the foreign townsmen present.[134] The troops were required to obtain special permission to leave their camp.[135] Captain Ford was one of twenty-nine officers of the battalion to whom Major Reading administered the oath of office at "camp near Santa Barbara" on December 26.[136]

William H. Davis, a merchant en route from Monterey with a cargo of goods, put in at Santa Barbara after weathering on Christmas day "a tremendous gale of wind from the southeast." Frémont demanded and received from Davis six or seven thousand dollars worth of supplies, including provisions and arms.[137]

On the thirtieth, the schooner *Julia* landed a cannon for use of the battalion, and a rumor circulated that the Californians would oppose Frémont's advance at San Buenaventura. New Year's Day 1847 was celebrated by the Indians of mission and town with a procession and music, including the playing of "Yankee Doodle" for the edification of their visitors.[138]

Although no definite statement to that effect is found, it would seem that by this time Frémont must have received some information of Gen. Stephen W. Kearny's defeat by Californians on December sixth, and possibly of Stockton's planned march from San Diego toward Los Angeles. Kearny, coming overland from Santa Fe with two companies of dragoons, was joined near the Santa Maria rancho by a force of thirty-nine, including Gillespie, a small naval contingent, and twenty-five volunteers under Samuel Gibson, now captain. The latter with about twenty others of Ford's original company had remained south in August. At dawn on December sixth Kearny made an attack at San Pascual on about eighty Californians under Capt. Andrés Pico. The Americans lost eighteen killed and had about an equal number of wounded, of whom three died later, while the Californian casualties were disproportionately small. Among the American casualties of special interest to Ford were these former associates of his: Henry Booker, killed; Gillespie and Gibson, wounded. The same Thomas H. Burgess who was with Ford at Olompali was one of several messengers sent by Kearny to Stockton for aid. A naval group of two hundred arrived on December 11th, and Kearny was thus enabled to reach San Diego the following day. Stockton started north from San Diego with a force of about 600 on December 29th, and the first day of 1847 found him at Buenavista.[139]

On January 3, 1847, Frémont's battalion, rested and better fed, left Santa Barbara and made ten miles eastward along the coast. The next day an advance of only six miles was made along the beach in the vicinity of the Rincón. During the march of the fifth, the *Julia* stood by in order to be of possible assistance. Camp was made in the vicinity of the San Buenaventura mission. There the battalion was called to arms when some Californians were seen on the hill above the mission, but a few shots from McLane's artillery caused the enemy to "scamper away like a flock of antelopes." A party of sixty or seventy Californians were seen "drawn up in order on the bank of the river," during the advance of the sixth to the Santa Clara. American scouting parties were sent into the hills. The Californians cavorted, and Frémont attempted a maneuver without success. The Indian scouts exchanged shots with the enemy who withdrew, but no casualties appear of record.[140]

The Santa Clara Valley, now a large citrus belt, was found to be very productive, furnishing beef and beans for the men and corn and grazing for their horses. Passing up the valley, camps were made at Carlos Carrillo's Rancho Sespe on the seventh, at a willow grove near the present Fillmore on the eighth, and on the western part of Antonio del Valle's San Francisco Rancho on the ninth.

On the morning of the latter date, George W. Hamley, master of the whaler *Stonington,* arrived at the willows camp with a letter for Frémont from Stockton, dated San Luis Rey, January 3. Stockton told of his plans for advance upon Los Angeles and warned Frémont against becoming unnecessarily extended during combat with the Californians.[141]

Events moved rapidly. Stockton, accompanied by Kearny, adhered quite closely to his timetable, for he entered Los Angeles on January 10 after fighting and winning two engagements with Flores, those of the San Gabriel River crossing and the Mesa on the eighth and ninth respectively. On the tenth Frémont, observed by forty or fifty mounted Californians, reached the vicinity of the present Castaic Junction and on the eleventh advanced in a protective formation through the pass leading to the San Fernando Valley. Two Californians from the Mission San Fernando met the advance element of the battalion when it cleared the hills. Receiving from those persons news of the American successes and entry into Los Angeles, Frémont continued and camped at the mission.

Thus Stockton's advance from the south and Frémont's closely watched but unresisted approach from the north constituted a pincer action which convinced Flores and many of the Californians of the uselessness of further opposition. At Los Verdugos a meeting of Californians was held on the eleventh to determine a course of action. At this meeting Frémont's former leniency in sparing the life of Jesús Pico was rewarded. Pico, sent by Frémont, appeared at the meeting and was successful in his plea that the Californians negotiate with Frémont rather than with Stockton, who had refused to treat with Flores. Turning over his command to Andrés Pico, Flores left the same day for Sonora.

Representatives of the Californians met with Frémont at San Fernando on January 12, 1847, an armistice was signed, and the following peace commissioners were appointed: for the Americans, P. B. Reading, William H. Russell, and Louis McLane; for the Californians, José Antonio Carrillo and Agustín Olvera. At the rancho of Cahuenga, near which the battalion had moved on the twelfth, articles of capitulation were signed and approved by Frémont and Andrés Pico on the thirteenth. Russell carried the treaty to Los Angeles where it received the approbation of Kearny and the reluctant concurrence of Stockton. Thus ended the conquest of California.[142]

It remains only to record the separation of the California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen from the service of the United States. In late January some officers and men were released—Grigsby, Hastings, and Bryant arriving at San Francisco in mid-February.[143] Captain Ford was one of nine officers whose resignations were accepted with reluctance on February 13. By March 5, the battalion was reduced to 208 rank and file, with some consolidation of companies.[144] All were discharged by April 19, 1847.[145]

Some members of the original battalion had seen action at San Pascual, San Gabriel, and the Mesa. Comparatively few of the reorganized battalion were at Natividad, but all made the long march south and were present at the closing scene at Cahuenga. Henry L. Ford, Granville P. Swift, and Samuel Gibson were among the very few who had the distinction of continuous service from the inception of the Bear Flag revolt—the Arce affair on the Cosumnes.

Altogether, the battalion performed a useful, and in the beginning an indispensable role in support of the American cause in California.

V. OTHER VENTURES

After his release from military service, Ford again went to the Sacramento and, in April 1847, became a partner of William C. Moon, whose ranch then became known as the Moon and Ford Ranch. Moon was an old hunter and trapper who had come to California with the Workman party in 1841 and possibly before in 1834. He had been an associate of "Peg Leg" Smith, who credited Moon with saving his life several times from the Indians "on the Plains." In 1845 Moon squatted between the Saucos and the Capay ranchos, but never received a grant. He died at Tehama May 31, 1878.[146]

In May 1847, Ford went with John S. Williams to General Vallejo's ranch near Petaluma and helped drive 580 head of cattle and about 200 horses, mares, and colts to the "Larkin's Children" ranch, of which Williams was supervisor.[147] While in Sonoma on that trip, Ford joined a number of others in signing a petition to Gen. S. W. Kearny to appoint William B. Ide to some office, the latter "being a competent land surveyor and possessing the requisite instruments."[148]

John Bidwell is authority for a statement that in December 1847, there was in the Sacramento Valley north of the Buttes a settler population of 58 males and 24 females.[149] In 1848, permanent settlers who were neighbors of Moon and Ford were as follows. On the east side of the valley were Peter Lassen, with whom lived Daniel Sill, Sr., and William Myers, on Deer Creek; A. G. Toomes, at or near the mouth of Mill Creek; and Jacob F. Dye, on Antelope Creek. The northernmost ranch on the west side of the valley was that of Pierson B. Reading at and north of Cottonwood Creek. South of Reading were William B. Ide, south of Redbank Creek; William G. Chard, north of Elder Creek; and R. H. Thomes, south of that creek. South of Thomes and nearly opposite Lassen was the Moon and Ford Ranch. Next came Soto's Capay Rancho, and on Stony Creek were Granville P. Swift and Franklin Sears.[150] All these ranches, most of Reading's excepted, were in Colusi (later called Colusa) County when formed in 1851.

Col. R. B. Mason, governor of California, on January 28, 1848, addressed letters to Henry L. Ford, Granville P. Swift and Bluford K. Thompson, requesting that they raise three companies for service in Lower California. Ford replied on March 15, telling of his lack of success in complying with Mason's request and stating: "The citizens of the United States in California seem to have lost all their patriotism if they ever had any . . . I am always ready to render any service to my country that my humble abilities will allow of and think myself honored in so doing."[151]

The small pay and unfavorable climate of Lower California, also mentioned by those whom Ford approached, were not the only deterring influences, for gold had been discovered at Coloma in January and the great gold rush was gaining some local momentum. It was not only impossible to recruit, but most difficult to retain in the service those who desired to leave for the diggings.

A gold hunting party consisting of Toomes, Thomes, Swift, Samuel Gibson, Moon, James Meadows, and Dye was organized that spring on the upper Sacramento. An oxcart was loaded with tools, 48 Indian "volunteers" were obtained, and all set off for Feather River with 50 head of beef cattle. Rich diggings were found at Monterey Bar, afterward named Long's Bar. Six weeks of work yielded $10,000 for each of the seven principals.[152] Long's Bar is said to have had 4,000 diggers at one time.[153]

John Bidwell tells of the continuation of mining that fall and winter by Swift, Gibson, and one Karr, assisted by impressed Indians. Says Bidwell:

> If the Indians did not bring in a sufficient amount of gold to suit them, they were whipped. The Indians would often try to escape but were always brought back by these men, and treated like slaves. Swift was one of the best prospectors I ever knew. It seems as if he could almost smell the gold. He made an immense amount of money. When these

three men had worked all winter and fall, I believe they must have had some $100,000 apiece and may be more. Swift took up the business of stock and sheep raising. Some years later I went over to his place, about twenty miles west of Colusa. I knew he had a great deal of money and I wanted to borrow some. He asked me how much money I wanted and I told him. He said he could not let me have it; his gold was all buried and he wouldn't dig it up, but he had some $10,000 of that "stuff they call coin." "I have no confidence in that and I would rather let you have that [coin], but the gold I would not dig up for my own father. That is money and I know it."[154]

No direct evidence is found that Ford did any mining himself, though it is probable that he assisted in the supply of miners, with beef cattle from his ranch. Ford, coming from the mines, was met by John S. Bradford at Potter's, southeast of Lassen's, on June 26, 1849.[155] Also on September 7, 1850, Ford and others with pack mules passed Lassen's en route to the Feather River mines to get Moon and his Indians from Nelson Creek, a place described as "literally speckled with gold."[156]

Though nominated for the first legislature of California as assemblyman from the Sacramento District, Ford failed of election. Extended personal electioneering on his part was impracticable because he was engaged during the fall of that year in the relief of emigrants, as detailed later.[157]

By 1850, Nathaniel Merrill, a cousin of Ford, had arrived at the Moon and Ford ranch and was employed as clerk, bookkeeper, and ferryman.[158] In 1852 he became postmaster at the same place.[159] Merrill and August Eastman took up farming on the ranch, which in 1852 had an assessed valuation of $15,580.[160]

In the first chapter it has been noted that certain letters addressed to Noah E. Ford were received at San Francisco in 1847 and 1848. It is of interest that in 1850 a letter to his nephew, William Ford, was written by Henry. Commencing to sign as Henry, he lined out the "H" and signed "Noah E. Ford."[161]

In 1850 Ford was elected secretary of the upper Sacramento division of the Society of California Pioneers and in 1854 he became one of the vice-presidents of the society.[162] He was member number 572 of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851, proposed as such by L. Tuffs, but no record is found of Ford's activities in that connection.[163]

In September 1851 Ford was elected the first assemblyman from the newly formed Colusi County, receiving 47 of the 98 votes cast in that sparsely populated county. Granville P. Swift was the first county treasurer, and William B. Ide was the county judge.[164] Ford's legislative experience seems to have been of a routine nature. His joint resolution, "instructing our Senators and Representatives in Congress in regard to an appropriation for improving the navigation of the Sacramento river," failed of passage. He was granted a few short leaves, several of which enabled him to testify in land grant cases before the federal land commission.[165] In all, Ford appeared as a witness in fourteen such cases during the years 1852 to 1856. His testimony then given fortunately enables the tracing of many of his movements and activities from 1843 to 1847.[166]

By 1852 Ford was the assessed owner of a 50-vara lot in San Francisco, corner of Fremont and Harrison streets, on which was built the home occupied by "General" John Wilson and family.[167] At one time Ford owned, under the following circumstances, a large part of the area now occupied by the city of Albany. In 1852 he bought from Vicente Castro some 600 acres in the southern part of Rancho de San Pablo, in Contra Costa County, and the following year deeded half of this interest to Jacob R. Snyder, former quartermaster of the California Battalion. Ford disposed of his holding to Maj. Robert Allen in 1857, apparently in settlement of a debt to Allen.[168] The same year Ford sold 1280 acres on the Sacramento, this being his interest in the Moon and Ford ranch, and also sold 500 acres which were originally a part of the Lassen rancho.[169]

VI. THE WILSONS

Having discussed various activities of Ford from 1847 beyond the middle 'fifties, it is now possible to tell without interruption the story of an important phase of his life—his relations with the Wilson family. For this purpose return is made to the year 1849.

Because of the great overland emigration under way to the California gold fields, and in order to prevent a recurrence of extreme suffering such as was experienced by the Donner party during the winter of 1846-1847, Gen. Persifor F. Smith in the fall of 1849 set up a fund of $100,000 for the relief of parties due to cross the mountains late that year. Citizens of San Francisco and many others, including miners, also contributed money and provisions. General Smith placed Bvt. Maj. Daniel H. Rucker, a quartermaster, U. S. Army, in general charge of the relief operations. John H. Peoples was in direct charge under Rucker of relief along the Lassen trail.[170]

Among the parties which took the circuitous Lassen route to California was that of "General" John Wilson, a resident of Missouri who had been appointed Indian agent at "Salt Lake, California," and naval agent at San Francisco.[171] The party consisted of Wilson and his wife, Anne R.; their sons, William Henry, Micajah D., and Robert; and their daughters, Mary Eliza and Susan Anne.[172] Other parties accompanied Wilson's for a portion of the route. The Wilson train included Robert Thompson the wagon master, and eight drivers for Wilson's carriage and wagons.[173]

Bvt. Col. William W. Loring, commanding the regiment of Mounted Rifles then at Fort Leavenworth, was ordered by the war department to furnish a military escort for the journey.[174] The Wilson effects, consisting of many bales, trunks, and boxes, were shipped by the "good Steamboat Tamerlane" from Glasgow, Missouri, to Fort Leavenworth, and there the party was assembled for the trip.[175] Ordnance, tentage, 3 horses, 50 mules, 7 wagons, and other items of equipment were issued to Wilson.[176]

The parties got under way June 5, 1849, with the escort commanded by Bvt. Capt. Robert M. Morris. The trip to Fort Bridger seems to have been uneventful except for increasing tension between the crusty "general" and his escort commander, partly because of squabbles as to who should do guard duty and when, but also because Morris did not accord Wilson a deference equal to that shown a doctor who had been allowed to accompany as surgeon of the train. In Wilson's final report he testily dubbed Morris an "inexperienced, vain and dictatorial, puffed up young lieutenant."[177]

Arriving at Fort Bridger August 21, Wilson on the next day wrote a letter to the secretary of the interior, principally on the subject of the Indians of the intermountain region.[178] From this point, the party moved to the vicinity of Great Salt Lake where, on September 1, Captain Morris became apprehensive because of "the advanced state of the season" and requested Wilson's plans for further progress and information whether transportation thence was to be by pack or wagon.[179] The decision was to continue with wagons.

On September 6, Wilson had a meeting with President Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders to whom Wilson conveyed a plan of President Zachary Taylor for the temporary joining of upper California and Deseret in a state which would declare against slavery. Young appointed Amasa Lyman as his representative to work with Wilson in California to gain this end, but the scheme was later defeated by the opposition of Gov. Peter H. Burnett and the legislature of California.[180]

The Wilson party proceeded to Goose Creek, from which point Captain Morris went to Fort Hall for fresh animals. After his return, the squabble over guard duty came to a head on September 25. Morris discharged a number of teamsters for Wilson's transportation; Wilson rehired them and dismissed the escort including Morris, who retaliated by refusing to transfer rations requested by Wilson.[181] Joel Palmer, who had just traveled over a portion of the Lassen route with a government train from Oregon, was then hired as a guide by Wilson at a cost stated by Wilson as $2,000, and by Palmer as $1,500.[182]

At Lassen Meadows the party left the main trail leading down the Humboldt and took the Lassen route, said to have been "indicated by a post on the desert sands . . . inclined at an angle of forty-five degrees, across which was nailed a shake bearing the legend 'Lassen Road' to woo the unwary emigrant from the crooked and broad way he had been travelling."[183]

The heavily laden Wilson train moved westward by short daily marches via Antelope Springs and Rabbit Hole Springs to Black Rock Desert, also known as Mud Lake. Crossing that desert and rounding Black Rock, the route led northwesterly by way of High Rock Lake and High Rock Creek to 49 Lake, west to the present California-Nevada boundary, northwest between Upper and Lower Lakes, and north to Fandango Pass, immediately west of the present Fort Bidwell. It was northeast of this pass, on September 26, 1849, that Indians killed Lieut. William H. Warner, topographical engineer, and his guide, and wounded two of his party, one dying later. Along the trail were the graves of those who died before reaching the land of promise. There were the bodies of many dead oxen, some, bristling with Indian arrows, resembling huge pincushions.

At Fandango Valley, east of Goose Lake, on or about October 19, Indians drove off twenty-nine mules of the poorly guarded Wilson train, and only seven were recovered. This loss caused Wilson to cache at that point about half of his baggage including his law library, some fifty volumes of which were salvaged the next year by Capt. Nathaniel Lyon, 2d Infantry.[184] The loss of the animals was serious. Although the party had passed the divide between the great interior basin and Pit River, there was still ahead a long trip of about 225 miles over much rugged terrain.

Described in present-day nomenclature, the route which Wilson yet had to travel to Lassen's led southerly to the vicinity of Alturas, southwesterly down Pit River to Bieber, then southerly, passing east of Lassen Peak across the headwaters of Pine Creek and Susan River and over a divide into the headwaters of the north fork of Feather River to a point a few miles west of Westwood. Thence the route led southwest over ground now inundated by the waters of the central neck of Lake Almanor, west to Deer Creek Pass, down into the upper valley of Deer Creek, up on the ridge between Deer Creek and Mill Creek, and southwest on that ridge over a "mountain desert" to Lassen's place about a mile from the mouth of Deer Creek near Vina. There were, of course, many detours and variants.

Thievish Indians, always troublesome in the Pit River country, grew bolder and added to the difficult situation of the straggling tail of the season's emigration, impeded as it was by its poorly nourished and fast-weakening animals. Then too, there was the ominous possibility that the emigrants be delayed or even marooned because of the fall rains and early snows.

Meanwhile, organization of the relief parties had been effected, and their work was under way. Henry L. Ford was among those who joined in the relief operations along the Lassen trail. Peoples, in his reports to Rucker, made frequent reference to an assistant whom he named as E. H. Todd, calling him "Captain" and "one of the most experienced of men," which description also fits Ford as far as it goes. J. Goldsborough Bruff, who traveled and camped for quite a period on the trail at the time, and who was a careful recorder of events, mentions Ford in his diary but not Todd. On one occasion at least, there was a curious similarity between the recorded movements of Todd and Ford. Perhaps there is a simple but not presently obvious solution of these coincidences.[185]

Peoples started from Sacramento on September 15, collected his men, supplies and animals, left Lassen's for the mountains on the twenty-second, and reached Deer Creek Valley on the twenty-fifth. He came to Feather River Valley the next day and made good progress until the thirtieth, when he and three of his men became sick with mountain fever. Sending two of those men back, Peoples gained the Pit River next day, when Indians drove off six of his best animals. Unable to continue because of the fever, Peoples accepted a place in the wagon of a Dr. Austin and "started back on the morning of the 7th October, with the Washington City [Bruff's] train, first having turned over the command of the party to E. H. Todd." Peoples instructed Todd to go to the rear of the emigration, at least as far as Mud Lake, east of the Sierra Nevada, unless "well advised that all the emigration is over this side of it."[186]

Meanwhile Rucker, realizing that there would be greater distress on the long Lassen route, had himself left Sacramento and had arrived at Lassen's. He managed to get four wagons with supplies through to Feather River Valley by October 10 and there he established a small depot of supplies. Thence, on the thirteenth, he sent a Mr. Hicks to the rear of the emigration with a circular advising emigrants to lighten their loads and rush on to Feather River Valley, there to recruit their animals and cut grass to last them from Deer Creek Valley through the "mountain desert" to Lassen's. The next day Rucker was stricken with mountain fever, but continued to Pit River. There on the twentieth, he was forced to turn over immediate command to Peoples, who had rejoined after a partial recovery from the fever. Rucker returned to Feather River and on October 27 left for Sacramento to continue his general supervision.[187]

On October 21, Todd came into Peoples' camp on Pit River and reported that he had issued all his provisions and had seen the last of the emigration over the divide. Peoples wrote Rucker that he would take Todd with him, go up river several days with wagons and beef cattle, and establish a camp. Peoples added, "Mr. Lord [*sic*] came down with the men, and helped to stand guard and furnished them more provisions. As he was riding one of Todd's own horses, I told him to take it down to you at Feather River."[188]

By this time the Indians had become a serious menace. Todd reported that on the nineteenth, despite his warning, "Indians came into a sleepy camp and drove off all the cattle." On the twenty-second, Peoples learned of the loss of the cattle belonging to the St. Louis train, and of the loss of some of Wilson's animals on the nineteenth. Early on the twenty-sixth, Indians drove off all of Peoples' beef cattle.[189]

There appears to be no specific record of the progress of the Wilsons, October 19–November 2, 1849; therefore Peoples' experiences on his return trip to Feather River will be outlined. The Wilson party could not have preceded him by more than a few days at most, and elements of that party may have been separated at times. On the twenty-sixth, the St. Louis family train came into Peoples' camp. Placing the women and children in his own wagon, he started for Feather River. At midnight "Indian fires blazed up simultaneously from every elevated point." Believing that the Indians intended a concerted effort to drive off all the stock, and seeing Indians around the nearest fire, Peoples sent out a party under Young, an Oregon man, to attack the Indians from the rear. Young was successful, killing six Indians and wounding others. The march was resumed on October 27. On the thirtieth, snow and rain fell. The next day all the grass was covered with snow so that the animals could not feed. More snow fell. Peoples reached East Spring, Feather River, on November 1, and drove his mules to a place where the grass was too high to be covered by the snow. Returning to his wagons the next day, he found there the rear of the emigration, including Wilson and his party, all of whom Peoples urged to move on.[190]

Wilson had brought his carriage to this point, so Peoples gave him two mules for the vehicle with advice that he abandon his wagons and pack his mules lightly. But, says Peoples, "He [Wilson] did not agree with me, and that night he lost all his mules in the storm whilst mine were safely sheltered in the valley."[191]

It was now a matter of getting out of the mountains alive, regardless of property. Wilson cached his remaining goods and started his son, William Henry, on foot for Lassen's to get more mules.[192] It seems that it was about this time that Mrs. Wilson put her son, Micajah, under the "special charge" of Joel Palmer, the guide. Palmer, with a few others, became detained in the Feather River country for some three weeks because of an accident in which James Brown, one of Wilson's teamsters, lost an arm by amputation following the accidental discharge of his shotgun.[193] Micajah stayed with Palmer for a while, but rejoined his family, as will appear later.

At some time during the traversing of the Lassen Trail by the Wilsons, Henry L. Ford rode into one of the Wilson camps and saw for the first time brown-haired Susan Anne Wilson, a young lady of nineteen. Mary Eliza states Henry said later that "before he dismounted he made up his mind that if my sister would marry him she would be Mrs. Ford as soon as she liked." Susan's immediate reaction is not recorded. Mary Eliza places the locale of this incident as "on a river which he [Henry] named Susan's after sister; Susanville is on that river."[194] So the name of Susan Anne Wilson must be added to the names of several other Susans for whom the river and the town were asserted to have been named.[195]

Bruff had established a camp on the Lassen Trail about thirty-two miles from Lassen's. Because of Bruff's careful records, his camp becomes a convenient check-point for movements of parties on the trail. He states that Ford came into the camp on October 26 with a wagon and some pedestrians and left the next day for Lassen's.[196]

At Feather River on November 3, Peoples "laid by." He dismounted his own party on the fourth, hitched mules to four wagons, and with "healthy women mounted on mules" left Feather River Valley with "every woman, child and sick man." The going was hard, for the snow melted, causing the wheels to sink in. At night the wind shifted to the north, and fires were built around the weakened animals, huddled in an all-night snowfall.[197]

The next morning, Deer Creek was crossed with much difficulty, and camp was made four miles beyond, on the mountain.[198]

On the morning of the sixth, eight or ten mules were dead. Says Peoples, "Several healthy ladies refused to go on mules in consequence of the storm and others because they had no side saddles to ride on. To such I gave to understand that on my return, I should pay little attention to them." Whether or not the Wilson ladies were among the dissidents, it seems that it was at this camp that John Wilson determined to await arrival of the animals, for which he had sent his son William to Lassen's.[199]

Taking some of the women, Peoples made eight or ten miles through deep snow on the sixth and, late the next day, reached his base camp near Lassen's.[200]

On the morning of November 11, William Wilson and a few men, with mules obtained from Lassen and William Myers, reached Bruff's and passed on to the Wilson camp. The next evening the Wilson party came to Bruff's. The hospitable Bruff provided tents for the family; the others slept in wagons or around the campfire; and the party left on the thirteenth. The mules, brought by William, proved of little use because of the condition of the trail; three of the eight obtained were lost, and the whole party was forced to walk.[201]

"About midnight a little before" on November 15, well over five months out of Fort Leavenworth, the John Wilson party reached the ranch of Peter J. Davis, about three miles from Lassen's, "without a mouthful of provisions." Davis seated all to a meal which, if similar to that served there to many other weary travelers, consisted of beefsteak and milk gravy, coffee, cream, milk, and butter—lots of butter for the hot biscuits and potatoes.[202]

When the Wilsons gathered around the table, spread with its white cloth and set with china, surely the "general" said grace, giving thanks for the happy ending of a trying ordeal, and ending with a prayer that "Cage" might soon and safely rejoin them from the mountains. Maybe Susan silently added a similar prayer for Henry Ford, whom she had passed below Bruff's when he was bound up the trail on more relief work.

The task of Peoples was not at an end, since many remained on the trail to be succored. On November 12, at Davis Rancho, he had in writing ordered E. H. Todd to take mules, work-cattle, and rations back on the trail, to assist weak and infirm persons and, if possible, to bring back the three wagons left at the camp near Deer Creek Valley. Todd started on the morning of the thirteenth.[203]

On the sixteenth, a relief party in charge of Ford—Todd is not mentioned—arrived at Bruff's with a note from Peoples dated the twelfth, stating that he was sending Bruff some provisions and a bottle of whiskey. Ford reported that the provisions were on a mule left stuck in the mud. It appears that the whiskey failed to reach Bruff, but Ford gave him a poor substitute, a small bottle of sour wine.[204] As an aside, it may be noted that in the early days there was an inordinate "loss" of liquor in transit, to the resultant detriment of supposed consignees. So disturbing did this situation become, that one army surgeon was led to complain: "The loss of wine, brandy, and other liquors is so constant and so great, and the arrival of the intended supply of these articles so irregular . . . that it is questionable whether these groceries should be continued as an article of supply."[205]

Micajah Wilson came to Bruff's with another man on the twentieth, and undoubtedly rejoined his family a few days later. On the twenty-eighth, the injured Brown and three others arrived at Bruff's and left the next day. One of these groups probably included Joel Palmer, since he seems to have appeared at Lassen's for a deal to be described later.[206]

By about the nineteenth, "Captain Todd" had advanced the rear of the emigration to the vicinity of Bruff's. All emigrants, except those who preferred to camp in the foothills where game was plentiful, had reached the settlements by November 27.[207]

Prior to the work of Read and Gaines on the Bruff papers, historians had given scant attention to the relief of the 1849 emigration on the Lassen Trail, an operation so successfully concluded. True, part of the story is in old printed documents, but perhaps some day the end of the trail will be marked with a fitting tribute to the heroic work of John H. Peoples and his men. For the present the following estimate of his men by Peoples must suffice:

> They did everything that men could do to facilitate the progress of the family train; and although not one of the party had a dry blanket, or dry clothes for half a month, there was no complaint, but the harder the service, the greater the exertion. At every river or slough they stood ready to wade over, with the women and children in their arms; and even after reaching the settlements, many of them took money out of their own purses and gave to the destitute. . . . To Corporal Gessner and Mr. Todd I am greatly indebted, for they have rendered me infinite service.[208]

Gen. Persifor F. Smith added: "His [Peoples'] notice of the self-denying activity of the teamster and other persons employed in aiding the sick and feeble, will give unbounded satisfaction wherever it is read."[209]

"Old Pete" came in for his share of praise as well as condemnation from travelers of his trail, one of whom wrote:

> Had Peter Lassen been within reach of any of the immigrants travelling his "cut off" before reaching his settlement he would have been hung to the first tree without benefit of clergy or conscientious compunction, so great was the indignation of those worn travellers. But he redeemed himself. . . . We reached his settlement in an exhausted and famished condition. He had his herds of cattle driven up and told the immigrants to shoot for all the meat they wanted and, though flour was worth $1.50 per pound, he opened the doors of his storehouse and told the hungry to help themselves. If they had no money they should have bread.[210]

During John Wilson's stay of about two weeks in the vicinity, he had ample opportunity to learn from Lassen and from Ford the story of Lassen's "Bosquejo," the most noted ranch of the time on the upper Sacramento. Peter Lassen, a Danish blacksmith, came to California in 1840 and then went to Sutter's Fort and other places in northern California. In 1843, in company with John Bidwell and others, he visited and selected this ranch of five leagues, granted to him the following year. As finally determined through court action, it was a strip of land on the east bank of the Sacramento, about three miles wide and extending from a compromise line near Deer Creek south to the vicinity of the present Nord. He drove stock to the place in the fall of 1843 and first located on the north side of Deer Creek, but gave land there to Daniel Sill and developed a large establishment on the south side of the creek. The Sill place was used temporarily by Peter Davis while Sill was east in 1849. Ford says that in May 1844, Lassen had a house and blacksmith shop, corral, and small wheat field on the south side of Deer Creek, and had 180 head of cattle and almost 100 head of mules. In October of the same year Lassen built a large corral and in 1847 built an adobe house on the south side, immediately on the creek and about a mile from the Sacramento. By then, irrigation canals had been added, also a horse-power grist-mill, where Lassen ground for his neighbors. William B. Ide made a survey of the ranch during the winter of 1845-1846.[211] While at Lassen's, Henry Ford gave John Wilson a memorandum about "Indians at Lassen's, Ford's and tribes not known."[212]

Wilson was so impressed with the first California ranch he saw that he readily assented when, as he says, Peter Lassen "put it at me to buy an interest" in the ranch. A deal was made whereby Wilson and Joel Palmer bought two-thirds interest in the place, Lassen to receive $15,000 from each in five years from January first next, without interest. Palmer went to Oregon but failed to return the next February as planned.[213] Col. Charles L. Wilson joined with John Wilson in the deal.[214] Henry Ford also obtained an interest in the ranch at a time not stated.[215] William H. Wilson was left at Lassen's to look out for his father's share in the place and was joined there by Micajah in the spring.[216]

(To be continued)

NOTES

132. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Dec. 9, 1871, Jan. 6, 1872.

133. James M. Cutts, *The Conquest of California and New Mexico* (Philadelphia, 1847), pp. 161-62.

134. William A. Streeter, MS "Recollections," pp. 75-81 (CUB).

135. Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-84.

136. MS in collection of Mr. and Mrs. C. Jackson Zane.

137. William H. Davis, MS "Glimpses of the Past," pp. 356-60 (CUB).

138. Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

139. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 326-56, 386. *See also* Arthur Woodward, *Lances at San Pascual* (Calif. Hist. Soc., Sp. Publ. No. 22, 1948).

140. Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-94, is the principal authority for the march from Santa Barbara to Los Angeles. See the Giffens, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-29 for camp locations.

141. Frémont, *Memoirs*, p. 601; 30th Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. Doc. 33, pp. 73, 403.

142. The closing incidents of the campaign are told in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 386-410, which see for many references.

143. "John Grigsby Papers" (CUB); "Fort Sutter Papers," MS No. 102. Thirty Indians discharged Jan. 27, 1847. List in "Reading Papers" (C).

144. 30th Cong., 1st sess., S. Ex. Doc. 33, p. 63.

145. 31st Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 24, p. 22h. A roster of Frémont's battalion and other California volunteers in the U.S. service during the Mexican War has been prepared by the present writer for publication by the Society of California Pioneers.

146. 367 ND 25; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 743-44; Sacramento *Union*, May 19, 1858; *History of Tehama County*, p. 53; Tehama *Tocsin*, June 1, 1878.

147. 115 ND 12; Williams to Larkin, June 17, 1847, "Larkin Docs.," V, Pt. 2, p. 161 (CUB).

148. "Archives of Calif.," Unbound Docs., A63, p. 67 (CUB). The petition was successful, for Col. R. B. Mason appointed Ide surveyor for northern California. *California Star*, July 3, 1847.

149. Bidwell to Sutter, Dec. 21, 1847, "McKinstry Papers," p. 13 (CUB).

150. *History of Tehama County*, pp. 11-15, 57.

151. 31st Cong., 1st sess., H. Ex. Doc. 17, pp. 469, 470; Ford to Mason, Sonoma, Mar. 15, 1848, 10th Mil. Dept. Misc., F-5-1848 (NA).

152. Santa Cruz *Sentinel*, May 22, 1869.

153. Bancroft, *History of Calif.*, VI, 362, n. 29.

154. Bidwell, MS "Dictation," pp. 57, 58 (CUB).

155. Bradford came from Benicia to inspect Moon and Ford's ranch with a view to placing a mercantile establishment there. John S. Bradford, MS "Diary" (C).

156. Georgia W. Read and Ruth Gaines, eds., *Gold Rush: The Journals, Drawings, and other Papers of J. Goldsborough Bruff* (New York, 1944), II, 839.

157. *Placer Times* (Sacramento), Nov. 3, Dec. 1, 1849.

158. Warren N. Woodson, *Trail of the Trail Blazers* (Corning, n.d.), pp. 12, 13.

159. Shasta *Courier*, Mar. 19, 1853. Biographical sketch of Merrill is in Daughters of the American Revolution, California, MS "Records of the Families of California Pioneers," VI, 361 (C).

160. *History of Tehama County*, p. 20; Justus H. Rogers, *Colusa County* (Orland, 1891), p. 74.

161. Noah E. Ford to Wm. A. Ford, San Francisco, Aug. 8, 1850.

162. *Pacific News* (San Francisco), Oct. 23, 1850; Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 19.

163. Porter Garnett, ed., "Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance," Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., *Publs.*, I, No. 7 (July 1910), p. 49; II, No. 2 (July 1911), p. 7.

164. J. H. Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 71.

165. Calif. Assembly, 3d sess., *Journal* (1852), pp. 5, 87, 153, 233, 263, 433, 611.

166. Numbers of the cases were 4, 38, 115, 121, 319, 356, 357, 358, 360, 367, 384, 417, 423, 427, ND.

167. Tax receipt, Dec. 4, 1852, "John Wilson Papers" (CUB).

168. L. C. Wittenmeyer, *Complete Search and Abstract of Title to the Rancho San Pablo* (San Francisco, 1867), pp. 47, 48, 63, 140 and map; Ford to Snyder, July 21, 1852, "Snyder Collection" (CSP).

169. Tehama County, "Deeds," Book A, pp. 263, 265; "Snyder Collection," Ford to Snyder, Apr. 20, 1857 (CSP), in which Ford stated that he owned 125 head of American cows and 40 horses, presumably kept on one or both these ranches.

170. Reports of Smith, Rucker, Peoples, and others of the relief operations are in 31st Cong., 1st sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 52, pp. 85-182, here cited as *Relief Report.* Mention of aid by citizens in *Pacific News,* Sept. 8, 1849, and Soulé, Gihon and Nisbet, *op. cit.*, p. 286. For Peoples' death by drowning near the present site of Crescent City, Calif., on March 27, 1850, see Fred B. Rogers, *Soldiers of the Overland* (San Francisco, 1938), pp. 5-8.

171. Letter, Office Ind. Affairs, to Wilson, Apr. 7, 1849 (NA); *Navy Register,* 1850. John Wilson, lawyer and Whig politician, was born at Knoxville, Tenn., Feb. 27, 1790, and died at Suisun, Calif., Feb. 2, 1877. San Jose *Pioneer,* Feb. 10, 1877. He served as sergeant in Capt. Samuel Doak's company, Virginia militia, in 1814. Pension records (NA). If he was identical with the John Wilson who had short service as inspector general with a few companies of Missouri militia during the Black Hawk war, that would account for his being called "general." 25th Cong., 2d sess., House *Report* 52, pp. 1-2. For much on Wilson and his family see Frederick A. Culmer, ed., "California Letter of John Wilson, 1850," *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, XXIV, 200-13, and Culmer, " 'General' John Wilson, Signer of the Deseret Petition," this QUARTERLY, XXVI, 321-48. The "John Wilson Papers," (CUB), include correspondence and expense vouchers pertaining to Wilson's overland trip to San Francisco in 1849.

172. Anne R. Pulliam married John Wilson Nov. 27, 1825, in Saline County, Mo. Certificate in "Wilson Papers." She died at San Francisco, Aug. 21, 1886. San Francisco *Chronicle,* Aug. 23, 1886. William Henry Wilson died in the fall of 1851 of dysentery, contracted in the California mines. Culmer, " 'General' John Wilson . . .," p. 341. Mary Eliza married Ferdinand O. Wakeman Oct. 2, 1854, and died at Santa Cruz Sept. 29, 1897, aged 65 years. Her Bible, and Laurel Hill (San Francisco) Cemetery records. Micajah D. Wilson later served with William Walker, the filibusterer, who stated that Micajah's "conduct in Nicaragua was admirable." Oakland *Post Enquirer,* Mar. 20, 1928. Mary Eliza stated that William and Micajah attended the universities of Princeton and Missouri, respectively, and that Robert died in Denver, date not given. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893. Micajah died at Ukiah, Calif., Oct. 29, 1862. *Mendocino Herald* (Ukiah), Oct. 31, 1862.

173. "Wilson Papers," vouchers.

174. *Ibid.*, R. Jones to Loring, April 3, 1849.

175. *Ibid.*, vouchers and bill of lading.

176. *Ibid.*, various records of issues.

177. Wilson to Thomas Ewing, Secy. Int., Dec. 22, 1849 (NA).

178. 31st Cong., 1st sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 5, pp. 1002-1004.

179. "Wilson Papers," Morris to Wilson, Sept. 1, 1849.

180. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 446-47; *Americana,* VII, 1313-54; Calif. Sen. *Journal,* 1st sess., pp. 429-36.

181. Wilson to Ewing, Dec. 22, 1849.

182. *Ibid.;* "Wilson Papers," Palmer voucher; Joel Palmer, MS "Wagon Trains," pp. 44-45 (CUB).

183. *History of Plumas, Lassen and Sierra Counties* (San Francisco: Fariss and Smith, 1882), p. 333. Standard works on the Lassen Trail are Bruff's *Gold Rush;* Alonzo Delano, *Life on the Plains and among the Diggings* (Auburn, 1854); Irene D. Paden, *Prairie Schooner Detours* (New York, 1949).

184. Wilson to Ewing, Dec. 22, 1849; Lyon's report, Nov. 1, 1850 (NA).

185. An A. H. Todd, who came to California in June, 1849, organized an express to serve the mines in July and went to Oregon the same year. His MS "Statement" (CUB).

186. *Relief Report*, pp. 117, 118.

187. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-50.

188. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

189. *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 130.

190. *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

191. *Ibid.*, p. 120. The teamsters who accompanied Wilson to California are named in a voucher in "Wilson Papers."

192. Wilson to Ewing, Dec. 22, 1849. In 1850, Capt. Lyon found that Wilson's Feather River cache had been opened and the contents destroyed or damaged. Lyon's report, Nov. 1, 1850.

193. Joel Palmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

194. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893; Jan. 16, 1894.

195. Among other Susans mentioned for the honor are: an otherwise unidentified Susan who passed through the country with a train in 1852; Susan, daughter of Isaac Roop; and a Susan DeWitt. Roop mentioned Susan River in describing his claim there in 1853. Fariss and Smith, pubs., *op. cit.*, p. 340. "T——," writing from Honey Lake July 30, 1857, asserts the river was named for Susan Noble, wife of the discoverer of Noble Pass. Petaluma *Weekly Journal*, Sept. 4, 1857.

196. *Gold Rush*, I, 234, 242, 243.

197. *Relief Report*, p. 120.

198. *Ibid.*

199. *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 132.

200. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

201. *Gold Rush*, II, 636-38; Wilson to Ewing, Dec. 22, 1849.

202. Voucher for meals furnished by Peter Davis, $32.00, Nov. 15, 1849, in "Wilson Papers"; W. A. Chalfant, *Outposts of Civilization* (Boston, [1928]), p. 168.

203. *Relief Report*, pp. 103, 121.

204. *Gold Rush*, II, 641.

205. 32d Cong., 2d sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 1, p. 136.

206. *Gold Rush*, II, 645, 652-53.

207. *Relief Report*, pp. 122-23.

208. *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 128. Gessner was possibly the William Gessner, once of the 2d Dragoons, whose biography is in *History of Napa and Lake Counties*, p. 235.

209. *Relief Report*, pp. 89-90.

210. N. E. Hansen, MS "Recollections," pp. 5-6 (C).

211. 367 ND, depositions of Bidwell, Dutton, Ford, Sill, and Sutter.

212. "Wilson Papers."

213. Culmer, "California Letter," pp. 204-206.

214. *Gold Rush*, II, 789.

215. On Dec. 17, 1856, Charles L. Wilson, John Wilson, Annie White, and Henry L. Ford gave Henry Gerke a quitclaim deed to "Bosque" [Bosquejo] for $1000. The same day Gerke deeded to Charles L. Wilson 4500 acres of the "southerly portion," and to Henry L. Ford 500 acres off the "southwesterly corner" of the ranch. Ford held his tract of 500 acres until June 26, 1857, when he deeded it to John H. Belcher for $1000. Tehama County, *Deeds*, Book A, pp. 153, 196, 262, 265.

216. Culmer, "California Letter," p. 204; *Gold Rush*, II, 787.

College of Physicians and Surgeons of San Francisco

Laying of the Cornerstone in 1899

By Loren B. Taber *and* Vivian A. Prindle

On June 15, 1896, a new educational institution, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of San Francisco, Federation Hall, 818-820 Howard Street, was incorporated under part IV, title XVII, of the civil code of California. Preceding it in the field of local medical schools were: California College of Pharmacy (affiliated with the University of California), 113 Fulton Street; California Medical College, Folsom Street between Tenth and Eleventh; College of Dentistry of the University of California, Donohoe Building at Market and Taylor streets; Cooper Medical College, northeast corner of Sacramento and Webster; Hahnemann Hospital College of San Francisco, 115 Haight Street above Octavia; Medical Department of the University of California, office at 305 Kearny Street, lectures at Toland Hall, Stockton near Chestnut; San Francisco Polyclinic, Post-Graduate Medical Department of the University of California, 410 Ellis Street.[1]

The advantages of site enjoyed by the newcomer were said to be that it was situated

> . . . in the very center of the most populous district of the city . . . two blocks distant from Market street, four blocks from the Palace Hotel. The Howard-street cable cars pass the door on their way from the ferry landings to the City and County Hospital. The electric cars on Fourth and Third streets pass within half a block and a block and a half respectively, transferring passengers to all parts of the city for a single fare, while only two blocks distant the five cable lines on Market street afford ready access to the Park, the ocean and the various hospitals.[2]

Particularly desirable was the fact that, in this locality, there was "at all times an abundance of clinical material, offering unsurpassed facilities to students for acquiring practical knowledge. . . ."

The school was incorporated as a college of medicine, surgery, and dental surgery. Completion of a four-year course was required for graduation in medicine and surgery, and a three-year course for graduation in dentistry. Silas M. Mouser was president of the trustees, J. R. Laine, vice-president; Thomas Morffew served as president of the dental faculty, and the executive officer of the college was the dean, Winslow Anderson.[3]

From the beginning, the institution flourished and soon became overcrowded. Consequently, the joint faculties appointed a building committee, which on January 19, 1898, was instructed to have a building ready for occupancy on the following October first.[4] On February 2, the committee rendered a partial report, mentioning sites at Eighth and Clementina, Third and Mission, and Ninth and Harrison. Of these, the one at Ninth and Harrison was regarded most favorably by the faculties. The trustees met on the twenty-sixth of the next month and instructed the secretary to reply to a letter from Madison and Burke, informing them that the college desired to obtain a building, 100 x 100 feet, four stories high, to cost, with land, $35,000 to $40,000, on a ten-year lease, and would pay $200 per month for it; that it would give approved security for the rest, provided that the location was suitable as to site and exposure.

During April-July 1898, the committee was making reports of progress but at the same time its members were asking for, and were granted, more time. On July twenty-second, a special meeting of the faculty was held. The question of erecting a new college building was brought up and an investigating committee appointed. The next month (Aug. 24), an amended certificate of incorporation, to clear the way for expansion, was prepared; it gave the trustees more definite powers in the ownership of real property and made possible adoption of the following resolution by the faculties on October twelfth:

> Resolved, that the Faculties recommend to the Board of Trustees of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of San Francisco, the incurring of a debt of forty thousand dollars ($40,000) for the purchase of a lot and the erection of a suitable building for the use of the three Departments of the College, and that the earnings of the College, after the payment of the current expenses, shall be applied to paying the interest on the loan and to the liquidation of the principal.[5]

The resolution was presented to the trustees on November ninth and their favorable action is seen in their authorizing the acquisition of a lot on the north side of Fourteenth Street, between Stevenson and Woodward (then Jessie) streets. This property, which is still occupied by the college, had formerly been a part of Woodward's Gardens.

Various proposals were made by the trustees for financing the new venture; one was that the corporation borrow $15,000 at interest not exceeding nine per cent per annum on promissory notes. More than one person feared that the already flourishing institution would become a source of private revenue to its ultimate detriment. At the meeting of the faculties on November 19, 1898, it was:

> Resolved, that the Secretary open a subscription book for the purpose of obtaining subscriptions to the purchase of the lot of land upon which the College building is about to be constructed. The object being to distribute the amount paid for said lot among as many of those belonging to the College as possible, and reduce the amount already contributed in large sums by certain members of the Faculty.
>
> That a copy of this Resolution be sent to each member of the Faculty.
>
> Resolved that the subscriptions be accompanied by certified check or cash.[6]

The resolution was passed unanimously. It is not clear from the records just how these financial affairs were adjudicated. Meanwhile, on January 11, 1899, the agent for Federation Hall raised the leasehold to $200 per month.

February 6, 1899, saw the trustees appropriating $10,000 from college funds and providing for certain sums to be borrowed; and on March twenty-fourth they held a special meeting to consider bids for construction. Those accepted were: Siller Bros., $22,565 for building; Ikelheimer and Bros., $4634.00 for plumbing. It was specified that the work was to be completed by August 1, 1899. This looked like the real thing in progress and indeed it was. Confidently, on May 3, 1899, the faculty met and, upon motion, adopted a provision "that a committee of three be appointed to make suitable arrangements for laying the foundation of the new College building. The chairman named as such Professors Morffew, Regensberger and Anderson."[7] This committee issued an invitation to various public men to speak at the ceremony, over which the Grand Lodge of the Free and Accepted Masons of California was asked to preside. In the "Proceedings of the Grand Lodge for 1899," appears this statement (grand master's message): "On May 20, on invitation of the Faculties of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of San Francisco, I convened the Grand Lodge, and conducted the ceremonies of laying the cornerstone of their new college building in San Francisco."

The event was noted and described by the principal newspapers of the city. With minor variations, their story ran as follows:

At 11 A.M., on Saturday, May 20, 1899, the faculties and students of the college, some five hundred in number, assembled at the old college building at 818 Howard Street. Each class had its distinctive ribbon (purple is specified for the juniors) and all wore the college colors, red and white. Some wore white caps with red bands; some carried sticks bearing ribbons. A procession was formed, led by the Stars and Stripes and the college colors. Faculty members rode in carriages; the others marched on foot. The route followed was: Howard to Third streets, thence to Market Street, thence to Valencia Street, and finally to the site of the new building, on Fourteenth between Valencia and Mission streets.

At noon, with the assembled crowd occupying every vantage point and the scene gay with banners and ribbons, the Grand Lodge of Masons of California arrived, and the ceremonies were commenced. The musical portion of the ritual was rendered by the Masonic quartet, under the direction of Samuel D. Mayer, grand organist, assisted by the First Infantry band, led by Charles H. Casassa. After an opening hymn by the quartet, the assemblage was led in prayer by the Rev. Edward B. Church (Episcopalian), president of Irving Institute. Prof. J. R. Laine, president of the college, who acted as master-of-ceremonies, made a short address, congratulating the faculties and students upon their success. He then introduced Judge Frank M. Angellotti, the grand master; W. H. Edwards, deputy grand master; Judge Carroll Cook, senior grand warden; and W. S. Wells, junior grand warden of the Grand Lodge, who proceeded with the ritual.

At a given point, the following contemporary memorials were placed in a receptacle, set in the northeast corner of the building: catalogues giving a history of the college for each of the three years of its existence, a photograph of the senior class of the medical, dental, and pharmaceutical departments, a copy of the *Pacific Medical Journal* and of each of the daily papers. The stone was then laid and ritualistically tested with the square, the level, and the plumb, and its perfection reported upon. At the conclusion of the ritual, Master-of-ceremonies Laine presented, in turn, the speakers—Mayor James Phelan, Judge R. B. Carpenter, and Congressman Julius Kahn.

The Sunday *Call* (May 21, 1899) reported upon Mr. Phelan's address as follows: "His Honor the Mayor was particularly happy in his remarks. He complimented the Faculty of the College on the auspicious occasion saying it was a pleasure to attend the exercises. He said the new building meant much to San Francisco. It is well that we encourage the construction of fine buildings, but more particularly those dedicated to the purposes of education. The speaker referred to the building of Mission Dolores Church, in 1776, when the slopes in view of those assembled were but the grazing ground of cattle and sheep. He then told of the gold era of 1849, and claimed that this is the educational era and discloses a great State founded upon the prosperity which comes from field and mine. He spoke of San Francisco as a jewel set between the University of California at Berkeley and Leland Stanford Jr. University at Palo Alto. He quoted President Harper of Chicago as saying that the four great educational centers of the United States are Chicago, Boston, New York, and San Francisco.

"In closing, his Honor said we are doing our part in bringing about a realization of the destiny of San Francisco. He spoke of this city as a veritable fountain of youth, where people come and enjoy health, that blessing without which life is not worth living. He then congratulated the faculty upon that great institution the cornerstone of which had just been laid."

"Judge R. B. Carpenter," said the *Chronicle* (May 21, 1899), "was happy in what he had to say, and congratulated the faculty on what had been accomplished in so short a time. He referred to the fact that it was established when two colleges seemed to be quite sufficient for the needs of this community, but added that the promoters had shown with Sam Patch that 'some things could be done as well as others.' "

"Congressman Kahn," the *Call* of the same day reported, "dwelt on the great field of research open to the students of the twin sciences—surgery and medicine. He affirmed that the Faculty had loftier ideals than the mere grinding out of graduates. He hoped the latter might add luster to the glory of the college."

On August 2, 1899, at a meeting of the faculties, the building committee reported that the new building "was nearing completion." Transportation problems raised difficulties; on November 1, 1899, the faculties discussed "the matter of building sheds for horses, buggies, and bicycles." The question was passed on to the trustees, with what results is not apparent. Actual occupancy of the new building is noted in November, in the *Pacific Medical Journal*;[9] and on December 19, 1899, the faculty met ". . . in special session at the College Building."[10]

This, the new building, the second to house the College of Physicians and Surgeons of San Francisco, was to endure for less than seven years, for it was destroyed in the great fire of April 1906. Upon its site, but without ceremony (so far as we know) or excess of architectural ornamentation, the third college building was erected. With many internal improvements and more recent additions, it has served well for over forty years.

NOTES

1. San Francisco *Directory*, 1897, p. 68.

2. Brochure, *Dental Department of the College of Physicians and Surgeons* (San Francisco, 1898), p. 5.

3. San Francisco *Directory*, 1898, p. 66. (The departments of medicine and pharmacy were discontinued in 1918, pending reorganization of the institution as a public trust.)

4. "Minutes of the Faculties, College of Physicians and Surgeons of San Francisco, Jan. 19, 1898–June 27, 1901" (now in the vaults of the college). *Cf.* Henry Harris (*California Medical Story*, San Francisco, 1932, pp. 249-53), who avers that the founders' conspicuous executive ability was not equalled by the strictness with which some of them adhered to recognized codes of professional ethics.

5. "Minutes . . ." (as above).

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. San Francisco *Chronicle*, May 20 and 21, 1899; San Francisco *Call*, May 21, 1899; and San Francisco *Examiner*, May 22, 1899.

9. The *Pacific Medical Journal* was at this time completely under the control of Dr. Winslow Anderson, who was its editor and proprietor. Volume XLII (1899) contained a number of informatory, *and* laudatory, items concerning the College of Physicians and Surgeons of San Francisco (selection of the lot, drawing of plans, letting of contracts, exercises connected with its dedication, occupancy, etc.); in addition, nearly all the other articles were written by men on the faculties of the new institution.

10. "Minutes . . ." (as above).

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

Alter, J. Cecil
  James Bridger, Trapper, Frontiersman, Scout, and Guide; An Historical Narrative. Columbus, Ohio, Long's College Book Co., 1951. xvii, 600 p. illus. $10.00. (Reprint)

Armstrong, Alice Catt, ed.
  Who's Who in Los Angeles County, 1950-1951. Los Angeles, Who's Who Historical Society [1951]. 323 p. ports.

Austin, Mary (Hunter)
  The Land of Little Rain; Photos. by Ansel Adams; Introd. by Carl Van Doren. Boston, Houghton, 1950. xviii, 133 p. plates, map. $6.00. (Reprint)

Blake, Moffitt & Towne
  Footlines & History; Famous Footlines Which Have Appeared on Blake, Moffitt & Towne's Calendars, Together With a Brief History . . . of the Oldest Paper House in the West. [San Francisco, 1950] [8] p. folio.

Caen, Herbert Eugene
  Baghdad: 1951. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday, 1950. 120 p. $1.75.

California Centennials Commission
  Exhibition of Historic Art; California Centennial Celebration. San Diego, August 1 through September 9, 1950. [n.p.] 1950. 44 p. illus. Apply to the San Diego Fine Arts Gallery.

Culleton, James
  Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey . . . Fresno, Academy of California Church History, 1950. 286 p. illus. $7.50.

[Douglas, Jack]
  Panning Gold; What the Beginner Needs to Know. Written Especially for Beginner Prospectors. Dutch Flat, Jack Douglas, c1950. 32 p. 50 cents.

Emrich, Duncan, ed.
  Comstock Bonanza; Western Americana of J. Ross Browne [and others]. New York, Vanguard, 1950. xv, 363 p. $3.75.

First Unitarian Church of San Francisco
  One Hundred Years of the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco, 1850-1950. [San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1950] 48 p. illus. $1.25.

Fowler, Harlan D.
  Camels to California. Stanford, Stanford University Press [1950] 93 p. illus. $3.50.

French Centennial Committee, San Francisco
  The French in California; One Hundred Years of Achievement, 1850-1950. California Palace of the Legion of Honor . . . November 11 Through November 30. [San Francisco, Delo Publishing Co., 1950] 25 l. plates. $1.00.

Giffen, Guy J.
  California Expedition; Stevenson's Regiment of First New York Volunteers. With a Foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1951. xi, 109 p. illus. $10.00.

Griffenhagen, George
  The Story of California Pharmacy. Madison, American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, 1950. [In cooperation with the Pacific Drug Review] 58 p. illus. Apply to publisher.

Hepburn, Andrew, and Harlan Logan
  California; a Complete Guide. New York, Simon and Schuster, c1950. 108 p. illus., maps. $1.00.

Hodge, Ernest Havilah
Centennial Vignettes. [n.p.] c1950. 26 p. $1.00. Available from the author at Tuolumne City.

Kelly, William
A Stroll Through the Diggings of California; With Paintings by Charles Nahl and Foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1950. xiv, 206 p. plates. $15.00.

Nadeau, Remi
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Seda, Anthony Mikalauskas de, and H. J. Schneider
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Shippey, Lee
The Los Angeles Book; Photos. by Max Yavno. Boston, Houghton, 1950. viii, 117 p. illus., map. $5.00.

Simmons, Paris B.
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Stookey, Walter M.
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News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

November 1, 1950, to February 28, 1951

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MRS. ALICE CATT ARMSTRONG—*Who's Who in Los Angeles County, 1950-1951.* Alice Catt Armstrong, ed. Los Angeles, Who's Who Historical Society [1951].

From MR. LUBIANO G. BIANCALANA—Vigilante Publications. *Pay Dirt.* San Francisco, Vigilante Publications, c1949.

From BLAKE, MOFFITT & TOWNE—*Footlines & History; Famous Footlines Which Have Appeared on Blake, Moffitt & Towne's Calendars, Together With a Brief History of . . . the Oldest Paper House in the West.* [San Francisco, 1950]

From MR. THOMAS P. BROWN—His: *U.S.S. San Francisco Memorial.* [San Francisco, 1950]

From MRS. LINA FERGUSSON BROWNE, in memory of SPENCER C. BROWNE—*Muleback to the Convention; Letters of J. Ross Browne, Reporter to the Constitutional Convention, Monterey, September-October, 1849.* San Francisco, The Book Club of California, 1950.

From THE CALIFORNIA HISTORY FOUNDATION—Hunt, Rockwell D. *History of the College of the Pacific, 1851-1951.* Stockton, The College of the Pacific, 1951.

From MONSIGNOR JAMES CULLETON—His: *Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey.* Fresno, Academy of California Church History, 1950.

From MRS. EDWARD L. DOHENY—*Addresses at a Meeting of the Zamorano Club. May 6, 1950. Edward L. Doheny Memorial Library, St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California.* [Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie, 1950]

From MR. EDWARD EBERSTADT—Brown, David L. *Three Years in the Rocky Mountains.* Printed from the Cincinnati Atlas, 1845. [New York, 1950]

From MRS. F. D. ELWELL—Tucker, J. C. *The Veteran's Dream; a Military Drama* . . . Oakland, Tribune Publishing Co., 1882.

From THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF SAN FRANCISCO—Its: *One Hundred Years of the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco.* [San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1950]

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From MR. FRED C. HUTCHINSON—His: *The History of Mary C. Norton and Her Kinfolk* . . . [Berkeley, 1946?] Mimeographed.

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From MRS. DAVID LAVENDER—*The Thacher School. Catalogue.* Ojai [1950]; *The Thacher School. Scrapbook.* Ojai [1950]; *Views* [of] *Thacher School and Round About Ojai Valley, 1890-1912.* [Ojai, 1912]; *Ojai Valley Tennis Tournament: Fiftieth Anniversary* . . . [Ojai, 1949]

From MR. JOHN A. LAWLOR—*Program, 50th Anniversary Celebration, 1900-1950, Brotherhood of Teamsters and Auto Truck Drivers, Local Union Number 85.* [San Francisco, Wobbers, 1950]

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From MRS. GEORGE D. LYMAN, in memory of GEORGE D. LYMAN, M.D.—Broadsides: Farnham, Eliza. *California Association of American Women.* [New York, 1849]; *Columbia Mining Laws* . . . Oct. 1, 1853. [Columbia, 1853]; *Menu, Ward House, San Francisco, Dec. 27, 1849.* [San Francisco] Monson & Valentine [1849].

From MRS. ELAINE MELLOR—Commercial Soap Co., San Francisco. *Price List.* [San Francisco, n.d.]; Hibernia Savings & Loan Society, San Francisco. *By-laws.* San Francisco, Mullin, Mahon & Co., 1869.

From MRS. R. A. NEWPORT—Hodge, Ernest Havilah. *Centennial Vignettes.* [n.p.] 1950.

From THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION—Its: *Norwegian-American Studies and Records,* v. XVI. Northfield, Minn., 1950.

From THE SAN DIEGO TRUST & SAVINGS BANK—*The Country of Joyous Aspect. San Diego; a Brief History, 1542-1888.* [Comp. by Edward Davidson and Eddy Orcutt. San Diego, San Diego Trust & Savings Bank, 1939]

From ALBERT SHUMATE, M.D.—Griffenhagen, George. *The Story of California Pharmacy.* Madison, Wis., American Institute of the History of Pharmacy, 1950.

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From THE STRAWBERRY VALLEY PRESS—Its: *Town Crier Almanac; Fact & Fancy, Lore & Legend, Wit & Wisdom of the San Jacinto Mountains and Its Hillfolks, Collected by Bmax and Emax.* Idyllwild, Strawberry Valley Press, 1950.

From MR. JOSEPH A. SULLIVAN—Giffen, Guy J. *California Expedition: Stevenson's Regiment of First New York Volunteers.* With a Foreword by Joseph A. Sullivan. Oakland, Biobooks, 1951. Autographed copy; Levi Strauss & Company. *Everyone Knows His First Name.* [San Francisco, c1942]

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MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. JAMES ABAJIAN—San Francisco *Mission Mirror,* Aug. 24, 31, 1878; San Francisco *Public Opinion,* Feb. 21, 1885; San Francisco *Saturday Mercury,* April 3, 10, 1886; Grass Valley *California Mining Journal,* Feb., 1858.

From MR. DONALD DE FREMERY—*The Seaside Reporter,* Nov., 1950.

From MR. DAN GUTLEBEN—His: *The Sugar Tramp,* 1948, 1950.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING—San Francisco *Alta California,* May 28, 1865, Dec. 13, 1872; San Francisco *Evening Bulletin,* Sept. 5, 1876, Oct. 27, 1882.

From MISS FLORENCE KEENE—The Healdsburg *Tribune,* Aug. 26, 1940. Diamond Jubilee souvenir edition.

From MR. GEORGE E. KIBBE—Downieville *Mountain Messenger,* Mar. 25, 1865.

From MRS. GEORGE D. LYMAN, in memory of GEORGE D. LYMAN, M.D.—*Thistleton's Jolly Giant,* Ralston Memorial Issue, San Francisco, Sept. 4, 1875.

From MRS. R. A. NEWPORT—Stockton *Evening Mail,* Oct. 3, 30, 1896; Angels Camp *Mountain Echo,* July 29, 1879, Mar. 21, 1882; Sacramento *Daily Union,* Aug. 14, 1866; Millville *Shasta County Record,* Mar. 20, 1880.

From THE SISKIYOU COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Its: *The Siskiyou Pioneer,* Dec., 1950.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Library of Congress. *Quarterly Journal,* May, 1946, and continuation; University of Texas. *The Library Chronicle,* ten issues, 1944-1951; Princeton University. *The Princeton University Library Chronicle,* June, 1948; The Book Club of California. *Quarterly News-Letter,* Autumn, 1947, Spring, 1948; The Friends of the Huntington Library. *The Friends* . . ., Oct. 1, 1946, Sept. 15, 1947, Nov. 1, 1950.

From MR. ROLLA B. WATT—*California Historical Society Quarterly,* Dec., 1935-Dec., 1941.

From MISS LOTTIE WOODS—San Francisco *The Golden West,* July 4, 1892; Palo Alto Historical Association. *The Tall Tree,* 1949-50; San Francisco, California School of Mechanical Arts. *The Tiger,* 1912, 1915; Los Angeles County Chamber of Commerce. *Pictorial California and the Pacific,* 1950.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MISS BERYL BARD, through MRS. DAVID LAVENDER—Illuminated manuscript on vellum, descriptive of California missions, including etchings, produced by N. Bowditch Blunt, Pasadena, 1902, as a gift to Mary Beatrice Geberding Bard from her husband, Thomas R. Bard.

From MR. HOWARD BRONSTEIN—The appointment of William A. Ingram as ensign in the U. S. Navy, June 6, 1919.

From MR. WARREN EGBERT—*Mother's Diary; the Record of a Journey Across the Plains in '52.* Bound, typewritten copy of the journey of Eliza Ann McAuley.

From MRS. DONALD HUME FRY—A group of materials belonging to her father, Albert Little Bancroft, consisting of fifteen volumes of personal and household account books, 1866-75, 1878-85; summary of his accounts with the A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1879-82; two volumes of notes on camping and hunting trips, 1873-76 and 1880; Card String of Events, the Bancroft Book (5 vols.), and other genealogical data on the Bancroft, Watts, Howe, Sebree, and Allison families; four issues of the *Weimar American*, issued at Weimar in 1881 as a personal journal of Bancroft family activities there; passport, baptismal certificates, and other personal souvenirs.

From MR. WENDELL P. HAMMOND—Miscellaneous materials including a San Francisco abstract of title, 1856-1890, and a cancelled bank check executed by James G. Fair.

From MR. MORRIS C. HIXSON—The diary of Jasper Morris Hixson kept on his journey from Liberty, Missouri, to Sacramento, May 1 to Aug. 6, 1849. Typewritten copy.

From MR. J. F. LANDIS—His: *Portsmouth Plaza Speaks* [San Francisco, 1950].

From MRS. GEORGE D. LYMAN, in memory of GEORGE D. LYMAN, M.D.—Five business documents pertaining to goods shipped on clipper ships to San Francisco, Aug. 21, 1852–June 18, 1858; letter of Lotta Crabtree, Aug. 31, 1897; sight draft drawn by William Heath Davis in favor of E. Vischer, Jan. 1, 1853; $20,000 bond given by Joseph L. Folsom to M. Hall McAllister, Dec. 31, 1852, and a letter from Folsom to the directors of the Central Wharf Joint Stock Company, Dec. 31, 1852; letter of John W. Geary to O. P. Sutton, July 6, 1867; letter from William M. Gwin, Jan. 20, 184[5?] and two printed obituaries of Gwin, 1885; receipt of William Hartnell, Apr. 4, 1846; two business documents by William A. Leidesdorff, Dec. 17, 1845, Jan. 29, 1848; three letters and an original 8-stanza poem by Joaquin Miller; letter from John Parrott to William Heath Davis, Feb. 24, 1855; letter from William Richardson to Davis, May 12, 1848; document signed by Antonio López de Santa Ana, July 28, 1846; receipt given by George Hyde, Sept. 2, 1848; receipt given by J. M. Leavenworth, Nov. 3, 1847; three letters from Susan B. Anthony, 1863, 1894, 1902, and an undated letter from H. B. Anthony; vote of thanks of the passengers on the Barque *Hannah Sprague*, San Francisco, Nov. 12, 1849; items relating to Theodore A. Barry: his will, Sept. 25, 1851, a letter from Thomas G. Cary, Nov. 24, 1877, and a U. S. Treasury Department *Act Relating to Passengers*, June 6, 1848; *A Night Watch Reminiscence of San Francisco*, by Elisa Biscaccianti; two of Peter H. Burnett's directions, as governor, to E. O. Crosby to call elections, 1850; Eugene Casserly's tax assessment on Joseph L. Folsom for property on California and Sansome Streets, Aug. 9, 1852; an article on Lord Byron by Amelia Clappe [Dame Shirley]; two letters of B. H. Hathaway as chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, 1860 and 1861; two letters of General O. O. Howard, Dec. 26, 1880, and Jan. 10, 1881; Denis Kearney's letter to Adolph Sutro regarding San Francisco water rates, Dec., 1894; six letters from Thomas Starr King to Haven Ball, and a telegraphic notification of King's death, Nov. 15, 1860–Mar. 4, 1864; letter [in French] from Lola Montez, Oct. 22, 1846; seven items concerning David Spence, including letters and documents signed by Walter Colton, John A. Sutter, and Angel Lebrija; letter from Bayard Taylor, Paris, 1846; two letters from Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, 1877 and 1878, and a promissory note, 1862; the naturalization papers of Jacob Wolfe, issued in Placer County, June 30, 1855.

From MRS. CHARLES E. MACKENZIE—Typewritten copy of the reminiscences of Harriet Chapman Turner, relating largely to her father, Samuel Henry Chapman; letter of Mrs. M. A. "Mother" Bickerdyke to Mrs. H. E. Chapman, Sept. 13, 1897, accompanied by G. A. R., Dept. of Kansas. *Mother Bickerdyke Day*, July 19, 1897 (General Order No. 4).

From MRS. ELAINE MELLOR—Masonic Savings and Loan Bank, San Francisco. Pass book of Luca Bosovich, 1878-86.

From MRS. CHESTER POST—Seven documents relating mainly to San Francisco Water Lot No. 668, owned by Malachai Fallon; pass book of the Peoples' Home Savings Bank, San Francisco, 1890-93.

From MRS. MARY K. RYAN—Correspondence relating to the family of Andrew Smith Hallidie.

From MRS. SIDNEY VAN WYCK—Browne, Ross E. *Charles Frederick Hoffman; born February 29th, 1838, died June 20th, 1913. Words of Tribute . . . Read At the Grave.*

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MRS. EUGENE BLYTHE ANDERSON—Portraits of William Lafayette Anderson and his son, Eugene Blythe Anderson.

From MRS. WILLARD E. BAUGHMANN—Four photographs of San Francisco before 1906.

From MISS MAY M. BROWN—Two photographs of San Francisco, May, 1906.

From MR. GUSTAVE CHEVASSUS—Photograph of a caricature of F. L. A. Pioche, drawn by his father, Edouard Chevassus.

From THE CITY OF LONG BEACH, DEPT. OF ENGINEERING—Its: [Map of the] *City of Long Beach, California.* [Long Beach, 1949].

From MRS. SAFFORD KINKEAD COLBY—Photographs of Mrs. Henry Gillette Colby; S. K. and F. B. Colby; the Colby home on Mare Island; a group of students and masters at the Bates School, San Rafael; and a tintype of Henry Gillette Colby.

From MISS CARLENA CROWELL—Two photographs of William Keith by Annie N. Crowell; photograph of E. H. Harriman by William Keith, enlargement by Annie N. Crowell; two photographs of Collis P. Huntington by William Keith, enlargements by Annie N. Crowell.

From THE EAST LIVERPOOL HISTORICAL SOCIETY—Eighteen photographs of San Francisco scenes, about 1915.

From FOSTER & KLEISER COMPANY—Its: *Primary Artery Map of Metropolitan Los Angeles.* [Los Angeles, 1950]

From MRS. DONALD HUME FRY—Collection of photographs illustrative of the Bancroft genealogy. Also included are photographs of the Hubert Howe Bancroft Historical Library on Valencia Street, the 1886 Bancroft Building fire, and an early group portrait of Bohemian Club members.

From MR. WENDELL P. HAMMOND—Twenty-four post card views of various California scenes and buildings.

From MR. EDWARD E. HUTCHING—"La Boheme"; supplement to the Christmas issue of *Town Talk,* 1905.

From THE LEGAL AID SOCIETY, San Francisco—Photograph of the Hastings Law School Class of 1885, an item from the W. C. Sharpsteen collection.

From THE LIVING MUSEUM, Sturbridge, Mass.—Index map of the City of San Francisco. Assessors Office, 1868.

From MRS. GEORGE D. LYMAN, in memory of GEORGE D. LYMAN, M.D.—Two lithographs of Lola Montez; photographs of Thomas Starr King, John W. Geary, Lotta Crabtree, Lotta Crabtree as "The Marchioness," and William C. Ralston.

From MRS. CHARLES E. MACKENZIE—An autographed photograph of Vicente Serrano.

From MRS. AMY REQUA MITTEN—A portrait of her grandfather, John Wesley Shaw.

From MRS. MARGARET SCHLICHTMANN—*Famous Southern California Scenes.* Los Angeles, B. R. Baumgardt & Company, 1901.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—A bound facsimile of an Agnese atlas in the Henry Huntington Library.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. DONALD HUME FRY—The cane, wedding gloves, and wedding handkerchief of her father, Albert Little Bancroft; and a linen sheet, hand-woven by Lucy D. Bancroft from flax grown by her husband, Azariah Ashley Bancroft.

From MRS. EDWARD C. GILL–Catalog, pasted on a redwood folder, of pictures and statuary in the art galleries at Woodward's Gardens.

From MISS EMMA GOODMAN–Section of the San Francisco *Examiner* found on California St., Apr. 22, 1906, charred by fire.

From MR. ERNEST INGOLD–Collection of materials, manuscript and printed, used in the preparation of his *The House in Mallorca.* San Francisco, Paul Elder & Co., 1950.

From MRS. GEORGE D. LYMAN, in memory of GEORGE D. LYMAN, M.D.–Stock certificates in the Lotus Mining Company, Miners Exchange Bank, Meiggs Wharf Company, Adams & Company, Stanislaus Central Bridge Company, San Francisco Transfer Company; seal of Ivar A. Weid, Commissioner of Deeds for California; Badges of the 4th Annual Convention of the G. M. Association, 1895, and the Knights Templar's Triennial Conclave, 1883; medals of the Mechanics' Institute, 1877, and the Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939; a souvenir of the *S. S. Beaver;* two collar buttons found on the body of Dr. John Marsh; the pocket surgical kit of Dr. John S. Griffin.

From MRS. ELAINE MELLOR–Blank book containing fire alarm signal stations and Travelers' Guide, published by the Chicago Clothing Company, San Francisco, *ca.* 1889; advertisement card of the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company of California.

From MISS MARY RANDALL–Silver place card issued to C. W. Randall at the farewell dinner in honor of Ulysses S. Grant, Palace Hotel, Oct. 25, 1879.

From MR. STEPHEN J. ROSSI–His: *Memento of the U. S. S. San Francisco . . .* [San Francisco, 1950]

From MRS. WILLIAM SAMPSON–Newspaper clippings relating to the history of Grass Valley and surrounding area.

From COLONEL WADDELL F. SMITH–An exact, mounted copy of a bronze plaque, executed by A. Phimister Proctor, commemorating the Pony Express of Russell, Majors, and Waddell, Apr. 3, 1860–Oct. 24, 1861. This copy was especially executed on order of Colonel Smith for the California Historical Society.

From MR. WILLIAM S. WELLS, JR.–A pocket gold scale.

From MISS GEORGIA WINTRINGHAM–An 18th century, hand-woven linen U. S. flag brought overland by the mother of Mrs. David Nye, San Rafael.

From MISS LOTTIE WOODS–A collection of stock certificates, clippings, maps, and pamphlets.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

For the Year Ending December 31, 1950

While it was observing 1950 as the 100th year of California's statehood, the California Historical Society was rounding out one of the most satisfying twelve months in its own career. The organization is now at its peak in membership, with more than 1600 members enrolled in all categories, and is in sound financial condition despite expenses involved in the observance of the centennials.

Directors elected at the annual meeting on January 27, 1950, were: K. K. Bechtel, Garner A. Beckett, Anson S. Blake, Mrs. William Cavalier, Allen L. Chickering, Ralph H. Cross, Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin, Aubrey Drury, Francis P. Farquhar, George L. Harding, Warren R. Howell, Joseph R. Knowland, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., J. W. Mailliard, Jr., and Porter Sesnon. Election of officers took place at the first meeting of the Board following the annual meeting: Aubrey Drury, president; Joseph R. Knowland, 1st vice-president; Porter Sesnon, 2d vice-president; Francis P. Farquhar, 3d vice-president; Warren R. Howell, secretary; and George L. Harding, treasurer.

The Directors held eleven meetings during the year; as is their custom, no meeting was held in July.

The Society had nine luncheon meetings. On February 13, instead of a luncheon, an "Open House" was held at the rooms on McAllister Street, with great success. Three meetings occurred away from San Francisco: one in Sacramento, to attend a performance in the "restored" Eaglet Theater; one in San Rafael at the Pony Express Retreat, the home of Col. Waddell F. Smith; and one in Pasadena, in observance of California's literary centennial. On that occasion, members of the Society, including many who are residents of southern California, enjoyed luncheon in the Athenaeum at the California Institute of Technology and the eloquent talk on history by Dr. Robert G. Cleland; they then visited the exhibit, "A Century of California Literature," at the Huntington Library in San Marino.

Speakers (and their topics) for the luncheon meetings were:

January 27: Dixon Wecter, "Mark Twain and the Mark Twain Papers."

March 9: Newton B. Drury, "The National Park Service and Historic Conservation."

May 11: Erwin G. Gudde, "The Centennial of the Pacific Coast Survey."

June 17: Robert H. Menzies, "Various Phases of Marin County History."

September 14: David P. Barrows, "California in Retrospect."

September 30: Robert G. Cleland, "The Valley of Dry Bones."

October 12: The Rev. John B. McGloin, S.J., "Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P., a Pioneer Prelate in Eldorado, 1850-1885."

November 16: Observance of French centennial week, with dedication of a bronze plaque on the site of the commercial establishment of Pioche and Bayerque, San Francisco, followed by the usual California Historical Society luncheon-meeting at the Palace Hotel; speaker, Raoul H. Blanquie, D.D.S., "The French in California."

The Society's membership during 1950 increased by a net of 85 members, four of whom were new patron, and six were new sustaining, members. The year closed with a total membership of 1620. An interesting sidelight is the fact that the proportion of members from the southern part of the state, and from areas away from San Francisco Bay, increased considerably; this gain is being maintained. As the Society is supported by the dues of its members and by voluntary contributions, it is vital that growth in membership be continued, preserving the upward trend of recent years.

The hope has been expressed by the Directors, first, that additional gifts looking toward the setting up of an endowment fund be made to the California Historical Society, to make more adequate provision for future expansion; and, secondly, that the Society will be mentioned as a beneficiary in wills which are being drawn.

During 1950, nineteen names were added to the "Book of Remembrance," through contributions made in lieu of flowers at times of bereavement or in memory of friends and members of the Society. The resultant funds are being used to enrich the library, by the purchase of books and manuscripts which otherwise would not be readily obtained.

This has been a particularly fortunate year for the library. In addition to the usual stream of contributions sent by an "Anonymous Donor," by Mr. R. H. Cross, Miss Florence Keene, Mr. J. W. Mailliard, Jr., Mr. Henry R. Wagner, and Miss Lottie Woods, six important collections were added. Through the example of Mr. Dean Witter and his initial large gift of funds, several other friends and admirers of Dr. George D. Lyman made possible the acquisition of some two dozen rare books and manuscripts, from his collection, which the Society had long lacked; from Mrs. Viola M. Priest came the Lucy Rutledge Cooke letters and the personal account books and scrapbook of Viola R. Cooke; from Mr. Brent Neville Rickard, the large collection of scrapbooks and photographs, compiled by his grandmother Amelia Ransom Neville, relating to social life in San Francisco; from Miss Anne Martin, a collection of letters from, and photographs of, prominent Californians; from the daughters of William Hall Hammond, his collection of field notes, personal papers, and selections from his library; and from Mrs. Donald Hume Fry, the personal account books of her father, Albert Little Bancroft, and others of his private papers. Although, because of their number, it is hardly possible to mention, here, individual items given the library throughout the year, we are grateful for all of them, and all have been acknowledged to the donors and in the pages of the QUARTERLY.

Under the capable direction of Dr. A. T. Leonard, Jr., an auction-by-mail was conducted in February 1950, netting approximately $1000, the sale being made up largely of remainders from the books purchased by the Society from the Wiltsee collection.

Mrs. Virginia Carlson Parker, librarian, resigned as of November first, and had not been replaced at the end of the year.

The California Historical Society QUARTERLY, under the editorship of Miss G. C. Wickson and the editorial advisory committee, has continued to hold to its high standard of excellence. Each year some 400 pages of California and western documents and authoritative articles are included in the four illustrated issues.

The NOTES from the California Historical Society, edited by Mrs. Edna Martin Parratt, has appeared monthly, except in July and August when no meetings are held. This news-letter has aided greatly in publicizing the activities of the Society and in keeping the members informed of its meetings, its aims, and its achievements.

The members of the Society and the staff have coöperated fully with the centennial celebrations in 1950, as they did during the four preceding years. Illustrations were supplied and materials lent for exhibition throughout the country. The Society was represented at the National Capital Sesquicentennial exhibition of American art by the William Hahn oil painting of Yosemite. Many exhibits were sent to San Diego for the celebration there, as well as to various firms, such as Hale Brothers and Paul Elder in San Francisco. A large number of the photographs, exhibited by Wyland Stanley at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, were copied from originals in the Society's collection. The final exhibition in which the Society was represented was "The French in California, 1850-1950," also at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor.

Early in the year, the distribution of a "Keepsake" was made possible by the generosity of Mr. Lawton R. Kennedy, who supplied a specially-bound separate of Mr. Henry R. Wagner's article in the December 1949 QUARTERLY on Templeton Crocker and the beginnings of the Society.

Under the direction of Mr. Ralph H. Cross, chairman of the committee on library and gifts, a representative in each county has been appointed to gather historical materials and to secure members for the Society.

A number of authors have presented copies of their books published in 1950, in which the help of the library and staff of the California Historical Society has been acknowledged.

A significant factor in the operations of the Society is committee activity, which has continued throughout the year and has resulted in noteworthy accomplishments. We express sincere thanks to the chairmen and members of our standing committees: the editorial advisory committee, and the committees on special publications, membership and publicity, luncheon meetings, rooms and exhibits, historic names and sites, library and gifts, and on finance.

All in all, 1950, has been decidedly a memorable year for the California Historical Society and its members. As California begins a new decade and a new half-century, we look forward to ever-increasing interest in affairs historical, on the part of our membership and the public.

AUBREY DRURY

January 26, 1951

Meetings

Date: November 16, 1950

Speaker: Raoul H. Blanquie, D.D.S.*

As if he were standing on an eminence, built up of years, from which he was surveying the century-old horizon of human endeavor in California, Dr. Blanquie pointed out places on that horizon to which his countrymen had given Gallic distinction. He began with the Compte de Lapérouse, disembarking against a backdrop of autumn foliage, in 1786 at Monterey, as commander of an expedition to inquire into the possibilities, offered by nature, on the west coast of North America. As one listened to Dr. Blanquie's subsequent account, the inquiring spirit of this expedition seemed to typify the scope of French participation in the events that took place in the territory that Lapérouse and his scientists had come to sound out. When once the gold discovery had set Frenchmen and their talents into motion, no field was left untried or untilled. Dr. Blanquie's research on the subject was made into an article for the San Francisco *Chronicle's* special illustrated edition, "The French in California—One Hundred Years of Achievement" (Nov. 16, 1950, pp. 3 and 11), the cover being graced by a likeness of M. Henri L. Bonnet, French ambassador to the United States. Readers of the Quarterly are referred to this edition, and to the recent publication of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor on the same subject, both of which should form unique additions to their libraries. They are also referred to the accounts, in the daily press, of the dedication of a plaque to F. L. A. Pioche, as indicated in this Society's Notes for November 1950.

Date: January 26, 1951

Speaker: Edward T. Planer

This date marked the annual business meeting of the Society; consequently, presentation of the report of the president, Mr. Aubrey Drury (see p. 81), and of the treasurer, Mr. George L. Harding (to be published in the June 1951 Quarterly), followed directly after the luncheon, together with the counting of the ballots cast for directors. President Drury then introduced the speaker, who is instructor in history at the Fremont High School, Oakland.

The word "some" in the title ("Some Observations of California Mission Life") of Mr. Planer's address might have been expanded into a more inclusive adjective, for he has spent a quarter-century in the study of the missions, has visited all of them, and did his graduate work at the University of California in the field of mission history. In his opening generalizations, the speaker pointed out, first, that the missions were "old" only in comparison with the recency of much of Pacific coast history; and, further, that the dates of founding give an impression of greater age than actually belongs to the structures now existing along El Camino Real. A second generalization was that they are all alike in bearing witness to the meticulous care of their founders in the choosing of sites; namely, that water, fertile soil, and adequate building-material be available, and that a numerically promising Indian population be present.

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*This was Dr. Blanquie's second appearance before the Society as luncheon speaker, the previous occasion having been at Monterey on September 14, 1947, at the dedication of a plaque in honor of Lapérouse.

In retrospect, their history falls, according to Mr. Planer, into at least five well-defined periods: (1) The heyday of mission prosperity and importance occurred, roughly, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The twenty-one foundations of the Franciscans were *the* institutions of Alta California, the remote new-world province of Spain, and around them, to a large degree, revolved its economic, social, and religious life. (2) The era of secularization, or the breaking-up of the great mission patrimonies by government order and under its direction, began in 1833-34, and, by 1846, at the outbreak of the Mexican War, the heavy hand of dis-establishment had made itself felt upon all the links of the mission chain. Then followed (3), the period of neglect and decay during the last half of the nineteenth century; little interest was shown in the moldering abode piles, their remains, in many instances, being carted off to be used in new building projects on neighboring ranchos (*cf.* Paul P. Parker, "The Tiles from Mission Soledad," this QUARTERLY, Dec. 1944, p. 348). (4) At the turn of the century, said Mr. Planer, with the advent of the automobile and the enthusiasm of antiquarians and amateur historians in southern California, interest in the preservation of a significant portion of the state's Spanish heritage began. Results of this interest included completion of the re-roofing of the church of San Antonio de Padua (under the direction of the California Historic Landmarks League and the Native Sons of the Golden West), and the marking of El Camino Real by the familiar mission-bell sign posts. (5) In our time, this re-birth is continuing, characterized, in addition, by a vigorous preservation-reconstruction program. Funds and gifts from such sources as William Randolph Hearst and numerous laymen, the Catholic Church, and the state of California have been expended with sufficient effect to achieve the reconstruction of La Purísima Concepción and its conversion into a state park; the creation of a replica of long-vanished Santa Cruz through the generosity of a private donor, Mrs. Richard Sullivan Doyle; the reconstruction and rededication of missions San Rafael and San Antonio within the last three years; the restoration of San Francisco Solano by the State Park Commission; the rebuilding of the church of San Fernando with funds first advanced by the Native Sons; the reconstruction, on the original foundations, of several structures originally part of the plan of San Carlos Borromeo. Interested groups have recently been considering the rebuilding of the sad and almost vanished remains of La Soledad.

Much pleasure was given to his audience by the presentation of a colored still-film of each of the Franciscan establishments, from San Diego de Alcalá to San Francisco Solano at Sonoma, showing them at various stages of their existences. Mr. Planer concluded by pointing out that, while the missions have outlived their original purpose on a remote frontier of Spain's new-world empire, they were still making converts.

During the course of the meeting, Col. Waddell F. Smith, great-grandson of W. B. Waddell, presented the Society with a large, handsomely executed plaque, commemorating the services of the Pony Express, of which his ancestor was one of the organizers. (*See* this QUARTERLY, March 1950, pp. 73-75).

NOTE: Word received from Gen. David Prescott Barrows, now on a Mediterranean cruise in the hope of recovery from a recent severe illness, conveys to us the good news that he will make his luncheon address of September 14, 1950, "California in Retrospect," into an article for the QUARTERLY, instead of the informal transcript announced on page 375 of the December 1950 issue.

In Memoriam

ALICE BAY MALONEY

I first met Mrs. Maloney in the early 1930's, after the death of her husband, Michael Maloney, publisher of the Coos Bay *Times,* with whom she had been associated in the paper's management. The training she had acquired as a journalist, her familiarity with the area served by the *Times* (she, herself, was a native of Marshfield, Oregon), could, she felt, be put to good use in research into the less well-known phases of northwest history and its extension into California. I therefore assigned her a table in the Bancroft Library, and we consulted frequently—to my pleasure, for she had a delightful humor. How correct she had been in planning to use her time in research is shown by the titles of the papers she published in the QUARTERLY of the California Historical Society between 1937 and 1945: "John Gantt, 'Borderer,' " and later three of his letters, for which she wrote the introduction and notes; "Peter Skene Ogden's Trapping Expedition to the Gulf of California, 1829-30"; "Some Oatman Documents" (introduction by Mrs. Maloney); "The Distressingly Virtuous Isaac—Biographical Notes on Isaac Cox, Author of the *Annals of Trinity County*"; "Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura—John Work's California Expedition, 1832-33, for the Hudson's Bay Company" (issued subsequently as one of the Society's special publications and sold out in a short time); and "A Botanist on the Road to Yerba Buena—Journal of William Dunlap Brackenridge, October 1-28, 1841" (this included an account and list of the plants, mentioned in the journal, by Alice Eastwood). For the John Work publication I wrote a foreword, in which I paid tribute to Mrs. Maloney's indefatigable care in assembling materials bearing on the subject, and I stated that the result was a highly significant contribution, which had a continental as well as a local bearing—a remark which could have applied, I think, to Mrs. Maloney's scholarly approach to any matter she happened to have in hand, namely, that its bearing was unpredictable and therefore its examination should be exhaustive.

Mrs. Maloney's death occurred on December 10, 1950, in Berkeley, following a long illness. She is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Alice M. Hendershot of Modesto, and a son, Joseph M. Maloney, M.D., of San Carlos; also by a brother, Fred B. McCormac of Berkeley, and a sister, Mrs. Grace McCormac French of Dayton, Oregon; and by an aunt, Mrs. Willis S. Duniway of Portland, Oregon. There are five grandchildren.

Mrs. Maloney was a competent worker and charming person.

HERBERT E. BOLTON

CHARLES FRANCIS GRIFFIN, M.D.

Dr. Griffin, an active member of this Society over a period of many years and compiler of its *Index to the Annals of San Francisco*, published in 1935, passed away at Sebastopol on December 23, 1950. He had left San Francisco, by stage, on the morning of his death, to spend the holidays with his only sister, Mrs. Clara L. Watson, at Guerneville. A few miles before reaching his destination, the bus swerved from the highway into a redwood tree, which fell, crushing the doctor so severely that he expired soon after reaching the hospital.

Charles Francis Griffin was born in Lassen County, California, on April 26, 1869, the son of Francis Marion Griffin, an early pioneer of Benicia and native of Searsport, Maine, and Margaret Malloy Griffin of Roxbury, Massachusetts. He attended school in Vallejo and, following his graduation from Vallejo High School, registered at Cooper Medical College, San Francisco, now the medical department of Stanford University, receiving his M.D. degree with the class of 1891. He at once engaged in the practice of medicine and surgery, in the city of his choice—San Francisco. When World War I became a reality, the doctor volunteered and saw active service with the Spruce Division in France, where he was badly injured.

Genealogy and civic affairs became Dr. Griffin's particular hobbies. He was the author of innumerable articles along these lines, was past-president of the California Genealogical Society, and for years an officer of the Society of Mayflower Descendants. It will be recalled, also, that on September 7, 1941, a bronze tablet was erected by Dr. Griffin in the San Francisco Civic Center, marking the site of the Old Yerba Buena cemetery (1850-1870), which occupied the triangle formed by Market, Larkin, and McAllister streets. In addition, he collected and preserved for posterity the names of some 5000 persons here interred.

Before her marriage, the doctor's mother had become the owner of a parcel of land, extending from present-day Lincoln Way to Judah Street, between Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth avenues, San Francisco, and here, since 1910, amid his books, he had resided. It is generally agreed that the Duboce Tunnel and Judah Street car line were fruits of his agitation for the betterment of that district.

The oldest post of the American Legion in California, San Francisco Post, claimed him as a member, and these comrades-in-arms conducted his funeral services. The mortal remains of Charles Francis Griffin now rest in Holy Cross Cemetery, San Mateo County.

A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.

Book of Remembrance

In the December 1948 Quarterly appeared, for the first time, a list of twelve names, in whose memory gifts had been made to the Society's Library Fund. Since that time the number of names, now inscribed in the "Book of Remembrance," has increased to sixty-six. They are arranged below, alphabetically, according to the year of contribution.

1945
William Cavalier
1947
Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver
1948
Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley
1949
Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.
1950
Harvey Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman

William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell
1951
Eleanor Smith Boone
Grant James Hunt
Arthur S. Maloon

New Members

(December 1950–February 1951)

Sustaining

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Mrs. Mildred Baird	Santa Cruz	Harry J. Breen
George W. Cohen	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Arthur E. Corder	Oakland	A. S. Macdonald
Gordon G. Guiberson	Davis	Warren R. Howell
Alexander King	Beverly Hills	Membership Committee
	Active	
Clyde Arbuckle	San Jose	R. H. Cross
L. Burr Belden	San Bernardino	R. H. Cross
Henry Miller Bowles	Berkeley	Mrs. Philip C. Morse
Mrs. Madie D. Brown	Berkeley	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Henry H. Clifford	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Rawlins Coffman	Red Bluff	R. H. Cross
Gilbert W. Colby	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Henry V. Colby	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Colusi County Historical Society	Willows	Charles F. Lambert
F. Wesley Davies	Arcadia	Membership Committee
Ben F. Dickson	San Diego	R. H. Cross
Mrs. Amy Drysdale	Georgetown	R. H. Cross
Hector Escobosa	San Francisco	Transfer of Grover A. Magnin's membership
Miss Blanche Galloway	Madera	R. H. Cross
Miss Dorothy V. Gloster	Alturas	R. H. Cross
Gordon D. Gollan	San Francisco	Lawton R. Kennedy
James C. Greene	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Horace Guittard	San Francisco	Continuing Mr. Guittard's membership
Mrs. G. Harold Janeway	Pasadena	Aubrey Drury
H. A. Hatch	San Francisco	Joseph A. Sullivan
Wesley R. Heard, M.D.	Monterey	Membership Committee
Lloyd R. Hennig, M.D.	Willows	Charles F. Lambert
Mrs. W. L. Hiller	San Francisco	Mrs. Hayden Shuey
Charles Hudner	San Francisco	Resuming membership
J. J. Jackson	Weaverville	R. H. Cross
Joint University Libraries	Nashville, Tenn.	Membership Committee
Mrs. David S. Lavender	Ojai	R. H. Cross

Name	Address	Proposed by
Stuart L. McClure	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Raymond McIntosh	Downieville	R. H. Cross
John McWilliams	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Miss Harriet Mason	Berkeley	Mrs. Emma Kessler
William M. Maxfield	San Francisco	Azro N. Lewis
Fred Meier	Woodland	R. H. Cross
Mrs. H. H. Mitten	Piedmont	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Miss Harriet Muth	Los Banos	R. H. Cross
Oakland Public Museum	Oakland	R. H. Cross
William Harold Oliver	Oakland	Mrs. William Cavalier
Mrs. William Warren Orcutt	Canoga Park	Membership Committee
George Pfeiffer	Corte Madera	Mrs. Evelyn Curro
Mrs. Alice B. Picchi	Sacramento	Mrs. Clinton A. Jewett
Charles H. Quinn	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Mrs. Thomas Robins	Philadelphia	Mrs. Naglee Burk
Alexander Rosborough	Yreka	R. H. Cross
Albert S. Samuels	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Randolph Sevier	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Joe A. Smith	Wood River, Ill.	Membership Committee
Robert B. Stinnett	Oakland	Edward T. Planer, Jr.
Universitaetsbibliothek	Goettingen, Germany	Membership Committee

Marginalia

Notes on Authors in this Issue:

Sherwood D. Burgess (U.C., 1940) is a native of New England. For thirty-four months he was with the U. S. Army in the southwest Pacific. Upon his return to California in 1946, Mr. Burgess entered business in Oakland, but the next year saw him returning to the University of California where, in June 1948, under Dr. Lawrence Kinnaird, he received his M.A. degree (thesis, "The Oakland Water Supply, from the beginnings until 1876"). Then came teaching, until his return to active duty as captain in the U. S. army, with assignment as R.O.T.C. instructor at Alameda High School. Mr. Burgess held the 1948-49 Panama-Pacific International Exposition Fellowship, awarded for his paper on the water supply of the exposition, held in San Francisco in 1915.

Miss Theressa Gay (born in Illinois) is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin. She lived at one time in Wyoming, did graduate work on the history of the trans-Mississippi west at the University of Montana, and taught in the state of Washington. Since receiving her M.A. degree in history under Dr. Herbert E. Bolton (thesis, the "Establishment of Territorial Government in Montana"), at the University of California, Miss Gay has been teaching and studying in this state. She has been at Stanford University since 1942, in varying capacities.

Dr. Erwin G. Gudde, professor of German at the University of California, has been a member of this Society since 1936 and a contributor to its QUARTERLY, as commentator and as translator from the German (*e.g.*, Edward Vischer's letters, written from California in 1842; and Theodor Cordua's memoirs, 1855). At a recent luncheon-meeting of the Society (May 11, 1950), Dr. Gudde recounted the history of the Pacific Coast Survey, referring briefly to the mutiny which he now portrays in detail from the original sources. In the same month of the preceding year, he reviewed for the Society's luncheon-guests the processes he followed in compiling his *California Place Names*, published by the University of California Press in 1949.

Vivian A. Prindle, D.D.S., lecturer in history in the college, an early event in the history of which he and Doctor Taber describe, comes of a pioneer family residing in the Mokelumne Hill district. Doctor Prindle has as a hobby the collection of biographies of California dentists and now has a total of about seven hundred.

Loren B. Taber, B.S., D.D.S., is a fellow of the American College of Dentists and an associate clinical professor of comparative odontology in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of San Francisco. He is also editor of the *Journal* of the California State Dental Association. His maternal grandfather and great-grandfather both arrived in California before 1850.

AMONG THE SOCIETY'S NEW MEMBERS:

Mrs. Mildred Baird has sent us an informing account (now in the biographical file) of her great-uncles, the brothers Baird, who went from Edinburgh, Scotland, to Australia in the middle 1830's, where they made and lost a fortune in sheep. One of the brothers, William, brought his young son from Australia to the home of a fourth brother (Mrs. Baird's grandfather) who had settled in Canada; then he joined the other two, Thomas and Alexander, who, by this time, had left Australia to try to recoup their fortunes in California, the reverse of the expedient described by Amos S. Pittman earlier in this QUARTERLY. Thomas and Alexander reached San Francisco in the fall of 1849 and straightway departed for the mines in Amador County. Alexander died in the spring of 1850; a shaft of imported Scottish granite marks his grave in the cemetery at Clements, San Joaquin County. Alexander and William decided to take up land near Dog Town, across the Mokelumne from Clements. Their wheat did so well that their property became known as the "Million Dollar Ranch." William returned to Canada and brought back with him to California a nephew of about eighteen years of age, Robert Alexander Baird, who, in 1890, married Miss Lutie Cotton (Mrs. Baird's mother), daughter of Edwin Cotton. The latter and his son Arthur had been in the nursery business in Michigan, and after their arrival in California became prominent horticulturists in this state. In the course of their experimental work in horticulture, they planted olive trees in Burson, Calaveras County, the first to be grown by Americans that far north, Mrs. Baird says. From the above résumé, it will be seen how many ancestral threads tie Mrs. Baird to California history—and vice versa. She is a Native Daughter of the Golden West and a member of the Santa Cruz Historical Society.

The history of western express companies became a field of research for H. H. Clifford from his association with Capt. James A. Bull of San Francisco, with whom he had served during his navy tour-of-duty in the South Pacific. Mr. Clifford is a native of St. Louis, Mo., and a graduate of Yale (1932). He is now a partner in A. M. Clifford Associates, investment counselors of Los Angeles.

Gordon Gollan is the successor to his father's long established linotype business, A. C. Gollan & Son of San Francisco, who have set the type for the QUARTERLY for a number of years, and for the Society's monthly NOTES since its first appearance in December 1948.

James C. Greene is the son of A. Crawford Greene (a member of this Society since 1942, and one of the partners in the San Francisco law firm of McCutchen, Thomas, Matthew, Griffiths & Greene). James C. Greene received his law degree from Yale in 1939. He began practice in Los Angeles with O'Melveny & Myers, attorneys-at-law, and has continued to be associated with them except for four years in the U. S. navy.

Gordon G. Guiberson's father, S. A. Guiberson, Jr., was born on his father's ranch in 1872. The senior Guiberson, who had crossed the plains to California in 1859, went first to Placerville, then moved to the Napa Valley, and finally settled permanently on a ranch in Ventura County. Mr. Gordon G. Guiberson's mother was Ethel Lavinia Heanan, daughter of Charles Oris Heanan, a mining engineer. The mother of Heanan's wife was an Englishwoman, Mary Ellen (Simpton) Owner, whose father, Capt. John Simpton, brought his family, in his own ship, to California in 1851, after a preliminary visit here in 1849. On his return voyage, he brought with him a two-story prefabricated wooden house, which he erected, with the use of wooden pegs, near McNears Point in Marin County. It is still standing, but now has a corrugated steel roof. Mr. Guiberson's maternal great-grandfather was Henry Owner, who came here from Washington, D. C., in 1850 and established a ship chandlery, but after some three years he entered the U. S. diplomatic service in Haiti and then in China, where he died. The Society's new member is in the oil, and oil-tool manufacturing, business in Texas, but spends most of his time in the Sacramento Valley, where he uses his initials ("3G") to distinguish his grain and stock-raising properties, located in Davis, Vacaville-Fairfield, and Hagginwood, and where he is accumulating a store of information on early California.

Mrs. G. Harold (Mary Louise Davis) Janeway tells us that she was delighted to find, in *An Apron Full of Gold; the Letters of Mary Jane Megquier from San Francisco, 1849-56* (ed. by Robert G. Cleland), Huntington Library, 1949, several references to "Mrs. [R. D. W.] Davis and Mrs. [Milo B.] Calkins"—her grandmother and her great-aunt, respectively. R. D. W. Davis came to San Francisco in 1851, where he took a prominent place among auctioneers and commission merchants as R. D. W. Davis & Co. In civic affairs, his name appears as No. 8 in the roster of the Vigilance Committee of 1851; and in 1855, as one of the directors of the Mercantile Library Association. Mr. Davis's son, Warren Johnson Davis, born in San Francisco in 1856, moved in 1879 to Wisconsin, where Mrs. Janeway was born.

Stuart L. McClure is a member of the Society of California Pioneers, deriving membership in that organization through William Whiteside Moore, his mother's paternal grandfather, and his father's maternal grandfathers, Benjamin Brooke Edmonston and Thomas B. Eastland. An uncle is Walter A. Starr of Piedmont, former officer of the California Historical Society and writer for the QUARTERLY (*e.g.*, "Abraham Dubois Starr," Sept. 1948, pp. 193 ff.). Mr. McClure is a graduate of the University of California (1937) and currently a reporter for the San Francisco *Examiner*.

Mrs. H. H. Mitten is the daughter of Isaac L. Requa, former mining engineer and the last president of the Central Pacific R.R.; and sister of the late Mark Requa, an authority on the petroleum interests of this state. Mrs. Mitten spends most of her time on her stock ranch in Mendocino County.

ELIZABETHAN ITEM

Earlier readers of the QUARTERLY will recall that some fourteen years ago it published a detailed report (subsequently incorporated into *Special Publications 13* and *14*) on the finding, in Marin County, of a plate of brass, on which were inscribed the quasi-religious, quasi-regal facts connected with the taking of a slice of pre-California soil, Nova Albion, by Francis Drake in 1579. Much expert care went into the report—elucidation of the historical background by Herbert E. Bolton and Douglas S. Watson; chemical proving of the plate's genuineness by Colin G. Fink and E. P. Polushkin; and a recounting of the steps taken by Allen L. Chickering, then president of the Society, to insure its acquisition and safekeeping.

The subject has been opened again in an extremely well-written article by Dorothy Carrington in the *Geographical Magazine* (London: Feb. 1951, pp. 448-53). Under the title, "Drake's Plate of Brass," appears this note:

> World War II has overshadowed a remarkable discovery, of particular interest to Englishmen though still known to very few, that was made on the coast of California in 1936. The following account of it, specially written for the *Geographical Magazine*, is partly based, with the Society's kind permission, on a publication of the California Historical Society by H. E. Bolton and D. S. Watson.

After describing, in a thoroughly interesting fashion, the circumstances of Drake's voyage and particularly the goings-on at New Albion, Miss Carrington records that, through the generosity of seventeen contributors, Mr. Chickering was able to purchase the plate from its finder; that it was then presented to the University of California, "where it can now be seen, the most remarkable relic of the Elizabethan age of maritime adventure and the only token that exists, or has ever existed, of the first, and neglected, imperial acquisition of the English crown."

That the still-unfound companion of this "remarkable relic" had an interest in itself was pointed out by Bruce Porter in "Art and Architecture in California" (*History of California*, ed. by Z. S. Eldredge, New York, [1914], 461-84), over two decades before the plate-discovery episode. He was speaking of the six-pence, with Queen Elizabeth's likeness engraved on its surface, which Drake's narrator stated had been inserted in the possessory plate of brass, set up at New Albion. Mr. Porter expressed curiosity as to what the shy aborigines, with their scant intelligence and scantier attire, must have thought of "that first work of European art planted upon the land which is now California . . . the minute image of the most notably artificialized female in history, in her monstrous ruff! . . . and what *wouldn't* we give now," Mr. Porter asks, "for that same 'peice of six-pence'?"—that token which "ties us to the England of Elizabeth and Leicester, of Shakespeare and Francis Bacon."

Meanwhile, the plate (whose ragged hole would, in a sense, have caused havoc to the "monstrous ruff") continues to serve historians as an indicator of first importance. Two questions remain: (1) where, precisely, was the *Golden Hinde* careened for repair; and (2) how near it stood the "faire great post," with its plate and numismatic portrait? Theorists have played ducks and drakes with a variety of solutions.

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A History of the Book Trade in California

1849-1859

By Hugh Sanford Cheney Baker

A KEY to the beginning of literary culture in California is found in the history of its early book trade. In fact, because of this trade, general readers on the west coast were able to live through the period of transition from Spanish to American traditions without foregoing a rich intellectual life, even though they were more than three thousand miles from the publishing centers of the United States, and three thousand more from England and Europe.

California was not an ordinary frontier at the time of the gold rush. It had been partially occupied by Spanish, other European, and American settlers, who had founded missions and towns, established trade and agriculture, and subdued many of the Indians. Settlers in San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Monterey, and San Francisco already had urban tastes; they desired, and were able to obtain, fine clothes, paintings, and musical instruments. After the middle of 1849, the pace of actual urbanization became so quickened that these luxuries could be purchased in special as well as general stores in Sacramento, Marysville, and Stockton, and in the large mining towns.

Among the necessities and luxuries imported into California were books. They poured into San Franciso, and from there into the mining regions, as adjuncts to urbanization and as part of the general eagerness of eastern dealers to speculate in a rapidly settling country. The settlers, on their part, were enabled by the book trade to keep abreast of current ideas; they could read not only standard works but the newest literary creations, also, within a few months after publication on the other side of the continent or in Europe.

For reconstructing the history of this early trade in California, our chief sources of information are items in the newspapers of the time, a few diaries and memoirs of booksellers, and the biographical sketches of two book dealers in San Francisco.[1] We know the types of books for sale because advertisements gave titles and authors' names and offered "Harper's Family Library," "Harper's Miscellany," and assortments such as "miscellaneous works" (books for general reading, according to H. H. Bancroft[2]), "light works," "cheap works," or "cheap publications," designating books in paper covers, whether fiction or otherwise. These generalized terms imply that merchants took for granted their customers' familiarity with the types of books in print at that time.

In this paper I am considering chiefly the part of the book trade that was engaged in selling works for general reading. Many of the stores, discussed below, specified legal, medical, and other technical works (including maps and mariner's charts), also school books and guide books, in their advertisements. A few merchants, listed in directories as book dealers, sold only technical works, or blank books and stationery, according to the periodical notices which I have seen; obviously, their stores are omitted.*

I. THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK TRADE, TO 1850

Before the gold rush, the Mexican colony had carried on an unmethodical trade in books, a fact which has failed to impress historians of California, who tend to emphasize, instead, the official Spanish regulations against unorthodox reading.[3]

Thomas O. Larkin's "Account Books" (in manuscript, Bancroft Library) show that on June 7, 1841, at Monterey, P. Rios bought one Bible, James Stokes bought one dozen school books, and José Castro three school books and two dozen catechisms. W. E. P. Hartnell (in collaboration with Father P. Short) had, it will be remembered, opened a school at his Petrocinio Rancho some five years before; intellectual light had ways of filtering in, despite the "paucity of windows" in Monterey houses, noticed by Sir George Simpson on his visit in 1841-1842.[4] On June 8 and 9, 1841, Larkin sold other books to Rafael Gonzales, R. Garner, José Abrego, P. Rios, and Juan B. Cooper. Additional purchasers during June were Ramonda Castilla (*sic*), Francisco García, W. S. Hinckley, Capt. J. A. Sutter, Francisco Pacheco, José Antonio Noriega, Henri Cambuston, David Littlejohn, Juan A. Vallejo, Samuel Thompson, and Padre J. M. Real, the only title mentioned being a *History of Colombia*, sold to F. Pacheco for $10. From July 1841 through August 1847, Larkin's accounts show that he continued to make occasional sales of books. Thus, notwithstanding earthquakes, revolts against the governor, smallpox ravages, the American conquest, etc., the torch of literacy was increasing in spread; by 1847, Miss [Mary?] Eager's school in Monterey was said to have become "very popular."[5]

An interesting commentary on the sale of literary contraband in California before 1849 is found in the biography of Mariano G. Vallejo. When he was an officer at the San Francisco presidio in 1831, he bought several boxes of books which had arrived on the *Leonor*.[6] Some were by Voltaire and some by Rousseau, although they were on the list of titles which the clergy forbade Californians to read. Subsequently, Larkin ordered books from New York for Vallejo, and as late as June 1850 he selected Spanish, French, and English works, including a set of Spanish classics, from Roe Lockwood & Son for Vallejo's library at Sonoma.[7]

Other early Californians, including José de la Guerra, members of the Pacheco and Coronel families, W. E. P. Hartnell, John Marsh, Hugo Reid,

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*For an invaluable article on the history of publishing and copyrighting in San Francisco, *see* Edith M. Coulter, "California Copyrights, 1851-1856," this QUARTERLY, XXII (March 1943), 27-40.

and Alfred Robinson,[8] secured books in Spanish and English before 1849, but their purchases were not sufficient to start a methodical trade. In the *California Star* of September 27, 1847, we see that a firm in San Francisco, owned by W. G. Love, D. Stark, and John R. Robbins, offered for sale "Harper's Family Library," arithmetics, spelling books, grammars, primers, geographies, astronomies, dictionaries, and music books—said to have been among the effects of S. Brannan & Co.

The first books to arrive at San Francisco in 1849 came from South America, but they formed only an insignificant part of the cargo of the Chilean ship *Mercedes*, as the following advertisement in the *Alta California* of January 4, 1849, shows:

> Cargo . . . consisting of freshly imported manufacturers, American and European, Chile and Peruvian produce including—
>
> Children's toys; spanish playing cards; . . . assorted earthenware; spanish printed books; ivory small tooth combs; Irish linens; . . . cotton umbrellas; . . . blankets, clothing, shoes, etc. . . . cooking utensils; shovels, hoes, chopping axes; . . . liquors; dried sweet meats; . . . cigars; smoking tobacco; . . . jewellry; rice; . . . fine black and green tea; coffee; chile beans; chocolate; . . . French preserves; jerked beef, and a great variety of other articles, on reasonable terms.
>
> Cross, Hobson & Co. *Consignees*

That year a few books were placed on sale also in Los Angeles. William Rich Hutton, a young civil engineer from Maryland, wrote on July 14, 1849, to his uncle, William Rich, a botanist living in Monterey, that Benjamin D. Wilson's store had one book "marked Frai Gerundio ['s] 'Teatro social.'" On July nineteenth, Hutton wrote to his uncle again that he had seen in John Temple's store, "Guzman de Alfarache (Madrid ed.), 1 volume, price $5; Quintana, Vidas de españoles celebres, 2 vols., $4.00; Mendoza, Guerra de Granada, 1 vol., $3.00."[9]

Shortly after the news of the gold discovery began to circulate on the Atlantic seaboard, D. Appleton & Co. advertised for sale in the New York *Tribune* of January 23, 1849, copies of John C. Frémont's *Narrative of the Exploring Expedition*, Lieut. William H. Emory's and Colonel Frémont's *Notes of Travel in California*, Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw in California*, and Spanish texts; and at about this time the publishing firm of Stringer & Townsend of New York offered, in the daily press, the following bait to speculators—at one dollar each:

> . . . books on mineralogy, geology, travel guides, popular novels, exciting adventures—*Monte Cristo, Memoirs of a Physician . . . Life in London. . . .* With oceans of books that will be sold to those willing to speculate, so as to net them from 3 to 500 per cent profit.[10]

A similar advertisement for cheap books in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of January 25, 1849, announced in part:

> Books for California and Home Reading
>
> The subscriber has a large stock of the most popular Books of the day, consisting of

Works of Fiction and Literary and Scientific Works which he will sell in small lots to those who are going to the favored land, at a discount from retail prices.

. . . .

Illustrated Life of Franklin . . . Part 2	.25
The Haunted Man, by Dickens	.06
Guildford, or Tried by his Father	.25
Mysteries of City Life; or Stray Leaves from the World's book – founded on the Notes of a Home Missionary, by James Rees.	
Partners for Life – A Christmas story by Camilla Toulmin, with illustrations	.37
McCaulay's [*sic*] History of England V. I	2.00

T. Wiley, Jr. 20 State Street

With this special mention of Macaulay's *History of England* (1848) and Dickens' *The Haunted Man* (1848), eastern publishers were calling the attention of possibly future Californians to some of the most recent works in print.

It took sailing ships nine months to go from New York and Boston around South America to California; that is, consignments of books leaving those cities, say, in January, did not arrive at San Francisco until September. According to the *Alta California*, Simmons, Hutchinson & Co., importers of San Francisco, were receiving books by September 6, 1849. The *Pacific News* of September 15, 1849, stated that the brig *Georgiana* had delivered to another importing firm (Cooke, Baker & Co. in San Francisco) a collection of books containing poems by Milton, Pope, Byron, Burns, Moore, Campbell, and Mrs. Hemans; novels by Scott, Cooper, and unlisted authors; Wilkes' *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition* (1845); Lamartine's *A Visit to the Holy Land* (1835); a collection of Spanish grammars, textbooks on chemistry, and other works, described as "a great variety of Religious, Historical, Geographical and Biographical Works." From this advertisement it would seem that early dealers in books in California emphasized standard, rather than light, works in appealing to customers.

In the *Alta California* of September 20 and 22, 1849, other importing firms (Wetmore & Gray of Benicia, and Joseph de Puissay Green of San Francisco) informed the public of the arrival of consignments of unlisted books. In that month, too, and in the following January, advertisers in the *Pacific News* announced sales of school and music books.[11] By October 4, 1849, the *Alta* itself was in the book business, stating that it had received for sale "historical, moral and religious works, and a variety of reading matter adapted to the capacity of youth." The acceptance of this consignment initiated a phase of the book trade in California: after this date, other newspaper offices in San Francisco occasionally sold books.

Meanwhile, two San Francisco firms, which later grew into bookstores, were selling newspapers, periodicals, and stationery. According to the *California Chronicle* of November 30, 1853, John H. Still, a Scot born in the West Indies and a former resident of New York,[12] established the Periodical

News Depot in September of 1849. Since Still's store did not advertise before 1850, we cannot tell whether it was selling books in 1849 or not. The other stationery-book concern was founded by A. S. Marvin and George B. Hitchcock, both of New York, in November of that year (1849) and was called the Pioneer Bookstore. It became one of the principal wholesale and retail dealers in books in San Francisco. Hitchcock said briefly of its beginning:

> I happened upon an old schoolmate of mine who was doing a little stationery business, and went in with him. We had a little store about 20 x 11 feet on Clay St., for which we paid $125 monthly. . . . Cash books we sold for $25 and $30 such as we sell for $5 and $6 now. I sold a second hand Webster's Dictionary for $25.[13]

He made no other statements concerning this partnership in his recollections.

In the Sacramento *Transcript* of April 1, 1850, we find Marvin & Hitchcock advertising that they had for sale histories, novels and "miscellaneous works" in English and Spanish. This advertisement, typical of many during the 1850's, placed in a newspaper which circulated in Sacramento and the mining region, indicates that a firm in San Francisco was convinced of an out-of-town market for books and was going after it.

For information on the types of books from the eastern United States, offered for sale by John Still and by Marvin & Hitchcock in 1850, we go again to the press of the day. The first advertisement for Still's Periodical News Depot in the *Alta* of January 7, 1850, tells us that the firm bought and exchanged old books:

> NEWSPAPER AND PERIODICAL DEPOT, Pike street, near the post office. The subscriber has opened a News Office for the sale of all the new publications of the day, magazines and newspapers. Subscriptions received for any newspaper or magazine published in the United States or Europe. All orders received for books will be promptly attended to. A good assortment of stationery constantly on hand. Old books bought or exchanged. N. B. California papers for sale.
>
> JOHN H. STILL

Still's firm was again mentioned by the *Alta* on the same day:

> NEW WORK ON CALIFORNIA, just Published and for Sale at this office – "California As it Is, and As it May Be; or, A Guide to the Gold Region." By F. P. Wierzbicki, M. D. A work that should be in the hands of every person visiting the country for whatever purpose. Also for sale at J. H. Still's News Room and Periodical Depot, Pike street, near the Post Office. Price $3.

The book's title illustrates the early Californians' interest in factual rather than exaggerated accounts of their own region, while the book itself marks the beginning of publishing practices in San Francisco, Washington Bartlett having assumed responsibility for its appearance, with the *Alta's* printers setting the type. The first edition of Wierzbicki's book came out in September 1849, and the second in December.[14] In 1848, he had presented a copy of his earlier work, *The Ideal Man* (Boston, 1842), to General Vallejo.

On May 7, 1850, the *Pacific News* said that "the enterprising Still," whose building (worth $1,200) had been burned on May fourth, "is . . . ready to supply the people with the latest books, periodicals, stationery, etc." in his new store, and that he had formed a partnership with John W. Conner of New York.[15] Some of the new American, British, and French books, that had arrived by steamer for this firm, were listed in the *Pacific News* of May 11, 1850: Parkman's *The California and Oregon Trail,* a translation of Dumas' *Salvador,* Mrs. Catherine Gore's *Mothers and Daughters,* Mrs. McKenzie Daniel's *The Cardinal's Daughter,* and an anonymous biography of a woman recently murdered in Washington, D.C., entitled *The Life of Helen Jewett.* The mention of Parkman's work (published in March 1849) shows how relatively quick was the arrival of topical books in California from the east.

Later in 1850, Still, Conner & Co. published *The Death of President Taylor; a Sermon* by the Reverend Timothy Dwight Hunt, Congregational clergyman of San Francisco. Thus, about a year after its inception, San Francisco's book trade had become linked, this time as principals, with the publishing business in California.

Before the end of 1850, four new firms had established bookstores in San Francisco, and were importing books from Europe as well as from the eastern United States. (San Francisco's population was then about 30,000; California's 112,000 or 117,300.*) The firm of Negbaur[16] & Lord asserted in the *Pacific News* of January 17, 1850, that it had received a consignment of 10,000 volumes for sale. We learn also from the *Pacific News* of the following April twenty-sixth that Wilson & Spaulding had received 2,000 new novels and "a large invoice of splendid Spanish, French, and German books from Paris" – the first indication that European dealers were sending books directly to California. Wilson & Spaulding were also buying and selling second-hand books. After additional consignments had arrived, they advertised in the *Daily Evening Picayune* of August 3, 1850, that they had for sale 50,000 novels, and poetical, historical, scientific, legal, and medical works in the San Francisco store and in the branch store in Sacramento. The next month, Cooke & LeCount of San Francisco (originally, William B. Cooke & Co.)[17] advised the public that they dealt in poems, histories, and novels in English, French, and Spanish.[18]

At the end of 1850, two men founded the first store in California especially to sell books in foreign languages. Ernest de Massey, a young French aristocrat, and J. B. de Finance, an almost penniless friend, formed a partnership in San Francisco with a capital of 400 francs, after they had returned from the mines. De Massey did not record the details but wrote simply: "Here I laid the foundations of the establishment that later developed into a bookstore which carried French, Spanish, Italian books, and any Parisian papers that had a ready market in San Francisco."[19]

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*For estimates of population, always a matter of dispute in the 1850's, *see* Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), III, 43-44, 335, 343, 376; and H. H. Bancroft, *History of California,* VI, 158-59.

Records of customers of bookstores in San Francisco and near-by towns are scarce for 1849 and 1850, but the few facts we have indicate that readers were buying good books even in the lesser towns, however high the prices. For instance, John Hittell, who had arrived from Ohio and was to become a prominent journalist during the 1850's, implies a purchase by inscribing in his copy of *Don Quixote*, "Sonoma, 1849."[20] George Payson, from Vermont, wrote in his memoirs that in San Francisco, late in 1850, bookstalls "were to be found at every corner,"[21] and that he selected "the eighth volume of the Spectator, the first volume of Macaulay's History — both large octavos — and five small volumes of Gil Blas" to take to the mining region. Since none of these titles had been specified in advertisements in California at that time, they show the types of standard literature included under the general terms used by merchants.

The sale of books began in Sacramento and Marysville in 1850. Sacramento then had a population of about 6,000, and Marysville from 500 to 1,500. Both had become urbanized practically overnight, and were supplying luxuries as well as necessities to the thousands of miners in the upper part of the state. The first bookstore in Sacramento, we learn from an advertisement in the *Placer Times* of February 23, 1850, was the firm of Spaulding & Martin. The general store of Warren & Co.[22] advertised daily in the same paper during March and April that it had for sale novels by Scott and Maria Edgeworth, the complete works of William Ellery Channing, and historical and biographical works by unlisted authors. Apparently not enough literary works arrived in Sacramento in 1850 to satisfy the market, because in August of that year a local auctioneer requested dealers in San Francisco to supply him with books, explaining his request by saying that "the Mercantile Library of Sacramento will probably be in the field."[23] As to the kinds of books in demand in Sacramento, we have some inkling of their similarity to those sold in San Francisco from the advertisement inserted in the *Alta* of December 17, 1850, by the Sacramento firm of Conner & Forrest stating that it had: "A new, splendid and complete assortment of Books and Stationery of every kind and description, at the lowest cash price. . . . Novels in endless variety; and in short, . . . every article which should be found in a book store." The taste in Marysville followed the same general pattern; this may be inferred, at least, from Ripley A. Eddy's notice in the first issue of the Marysville *Herald* (Aug. 6, 1850), informing possible readers that his bookstore[24] had a large selection of standard works and "cheap publications."

As early as 1850, merchants in the mining district east of Sacramento sold and rented books. Our best information for the beginning of this trade comes from diaries and memoirs. Charles T. H. Palmer, a recent graduate of Yale, wrote in his diary in February and April 1850 that he had bought fiction at Georgetown;[25] and on April twenty-seventh he mentioned that "Bradley came in at dusk from Georgetown slightly shlewed and with two novels in fist." George Payson, a Vermonter, stated in his memoirs that in May 1850 he had borrowed Lamartine's *Confessions*, G. P. R. James' *The Ancient Regime*, and Fredrika Bremer's *The Home*, from the circulating library in a store at Ford's Bar.[26] This date is important because it precedes by at least six months his purchase of books in San Francisco.

The possibilities of a trade in books for the miners was appreciated by L. B. Monson, an express agent, who advertised daily in the Sacramento *Transcript* during September 1850 that he would deliver books, with other supplies, to the miners along the American River. After that date, miners could order through him quickly and directly from Sacramento or San Francisco, without waiting for the establishment of shops or the arrival of traveling peddlers.

II. THE EXPANSION OF THE BOOK TRADE, 1851-1852

As general business revived throughout the state, after a brief depression in 1850 brought on by a surfeit of goods sent to the coast by speculators, the book trade became firmly established in San Francisco, Sacramento, Marysville, Stockton, and in important towns in the mining region. As we have seen above, books reached San Francisco within a rather surprisingly short time after their publication in the east and in England, and were then shipped out to the largest mining towns. *David Copperfield* is an excellent example, because we know that the last installments of it were printed in England in November 1850. The *Alta* reported on January 23, 1851, that the mail had "brought Nos. 18, 19, and 20, the conclusion" of the novel to San Francisco. Current magazines also reached California shortly after their publication; for instance, advertisements may be found in several newspapers of late January 1851 for *Harper's*, *Graham's*, and the *International Magazine*, and for *Godey's Lady's Book* for January. The *Alta* printed on March 8, 1851, an editorial emphasizing the fact that steamers brought current reading matter to California:

> LIGHT LITERATURE – The Reading community of San Francisco are not obliged as formerly to spend their leisure hours in poring over the pages of some old book which has found its way around Cape Horn, or across the Isthmus of Panama. Now we receive by every steamer the latest publications in America and England, solid bound books, and the yellow covered whilers away of careless hours.

On May 20, 1851, while business was dull in San Francisco, Sidney M. Van Wyck, a young merchant from Baltimore, wrote in his diary (manuscript, now in the M. H. De Young Museum, San Francisco) of his fondness for novels by Dickens and Fredrika Bremer:

> I have been sitting almost all to-day upon a pile of boxes before my door, reading a novel whilst waiting for purchasers. The boys laugh at me as they see me perched up on tobacco boxes, and reading as if I cared for nothing else. If I did not read I should have no relief from ennui.

Although that year he frequently referred in his diary to his reading, he did not mention any of the bookstores, because he took for granted the full supply of "light literature" in them.

A few dealers in San Francisco in 1851 and 1852 listed in their advertisements the titles of standard and new books as they arrived. Among them was the wholesale and retail firm of Burgess, Gilbert & Still (successor to Still & Conner),[27] who advertised in the *Alta* on April 3, 1851, that it had for sale such works as *Pendennis* (1850) and *Lavengro* (1851), and all the novels of Dickens, Cooper, and Marryat. On June 3, this firm announced the arrival of Jared Sparks's *The Life of George Washington* (1834-1837), and the works of Washington Irving and of Thomas Chalmers. Cooke & LeCount advertised in the *Alta* on July 29, 1851, that it had received a new consignment of poetry by Dante, Tasso, Byron, Burns, Campbell, Moore, and N. P. Willis, and 250 different plays. In other advertisements during 1851, dealers listed such old and new works as Shakespeare's plays, *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, *Tom Jones*, *Vanity Fair* (1848), Thackeray's *Irish Sketch Book* (1843), *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846), Lamartine's *The Stone Mason of Saint Point*, and his *Geneviève*, Dumas's *The Memoirs of a Physician* (1846), and his *The Black Tulip* (1850), George Sand's *Consuelo* (1843), and Sue's *The Mysteries of the People* (1849-51). In the book lists for 1852 we find, among many others, such titles as *Bleak House* (1852), *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), Lever's *The Daltons* (1852), and the names of such authors as Bacon, De Quincey, Poe, Prescott, Guizot, Michelet, Charles Rollin, Archibald Alison, Horace Greeley, John Lloyd Stephens, and E. J. Squier.

Significantly for Californians, because of the topical interest in books describing the state, dealers announced in 1851 the arrival of *Six Months in the Gold Mines* (1850) by E. Gould Buffum (one of the editors both of the *Alta* and of the Los Angeles *Star*), *Three Years in California* (1850) by Walter Colton (a former editor of the *Californian* of Monterey), and his *Deck and Port* (1850). In 1852, two other new works describing historical events and the gold rush were offered for sale in San Francisco: Daniel Woods's *Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings* (1851), and J. Q. Thornton's *Oregon and California in 1848* (1849). There were also two books published by firms in San Francisco, viz., on March 19, 1852, Burgess, Gilbert & Still announced that it had issued *The Sandwich Islands as They Are, Not as They Should Be* by Mrs. E. M. Willis Parker;[28] and, on March 30, came word from Marvin & Hitchcock about their *A California Text Book*, a Spanish grammar which contains a description of the state.

The partnership of Marvin & Hitchcock (the Pioneer Bookstore's proprietors) continued unchanged during these years. The *Alta* reported on May 5, 1851, that on the preceding day the firm had lost by fire two buildings and stock valued at $20,000. It was, at that time, the largest dealer in books in San Francisco. On May 12, the owners reopened. One of their regular visitors was the Charles T. H. Palmer, mentioned earlier, who had not found much gold at Georgetown or in Nevada City. He wrote in his diary that on March 21, 1851, he strolled into the Pioneer Bookstore and visited with the owners, "two good fellows."[29] Palmer's subsequent interest in selling books grew out of this friendship; we read in his diary for June 23 that, when his law books were burned, he decided to found a bookstore in the mining region on a joint account with Marvin & Hitchcock.

The *Courier* of July 26, 1851, reported that one of the partners of Marvin & Hitchcock had gone to New York to select books personally. After he had returned to San Francisco, the *Pacific* (a Protestant weekly with high standards in journalism) printed an editorial on February 3, 1852, recommending the books that were for sale at the Pioneer Bookstore. This trip east is the first evidence we have that a book dealer in San Francisco, who knew his customers' tastes, was no longer satisfied merely to accept consignments which eastern merchants chose to ship to California. The numerous advertisements of Marvin & Hitchcock indicate that it specialized in selling standard and literary works, histories, biographies, descriptions of travel, scientific and agricultural works, as well as musical instruments and stationery – a wide field, implying the necessity for selection of stock.

Meanwhile, the firm of Burgess, Gilbert & Still advertised cheap editions of current and standard works. Many of its new books were of the Ned Buntline and Eugene Sue order, the type of books one did not find advertised by the Pioneer Bookstore. According to the firm's announcement in the *Alta* of April 21, 1851, it had added a circulating library for the convenience of novel readers in San Francisco. The caption of its advertisement in the May 21, 1851, edition of the *Alta* is typical of its numerous others: "New Cheap Books by the Cartload!" This notice went on to say that the store had 5,000 novels in stock, and "will receive by every mail a full supply of every book published in the Atlantic States." A fortnight later (June 3), the store contained 10,000 books, which it offered at prices twenty per cent lower than those of any other firm in San Francisco; by June 20, there were 15,000 volumes on its shelves.

The titles of some of these current works are amusing in some ways: *The Green Hand*, T. S. Arthur's *The Divorced Wife*, G. G. Foster's *Celio, or New York above Ground and Under Ground*, Ned Buntline's *The G'hals of New York*, Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth's *The Mother-in-Law*, and Mrs. Hubback's *The Wife's Sister* – popular fiction of the day, aimed at readers of adventure stories or sentimental novels. They weren't worth much, moneywise; when the store burned on June 23, 1851, the *Alta* reported three days later that the loss had amounted to $1,500. Shortly thereafter, the partners reopened, and continued in business with no changes in management until late in 1852. By January 12 of that year, Burgess, Gilbert & Still had, according to an advertisement in the *Alta*, 1,500 plays on their shelves. It is of interest to note here that into their store, the month before, had wandered Anton Roman, a native of Bavaria, who was to become one of San Francisco's most prominent booksellers and publishers. On this December 1851 day he bought books — 100 gold-ounces worth, to sell in the Trinity mines.[30]

The third large bookstore in San Francisco (soon to be the largest) at the beginning of 1851, was owned by Cooke & LeCount. Their quarters were burned on May 4, but the next day the company resumed business operations in another building. On July 29, 1851, they advertised in the *Alta* that their store, called the Stationers' Warehouse, had 50,000 volumes in stock; six months afterwards (December 12), their list, as regards authors, was more explicit:

> 50,000 Volumes of New and Cheap Publications. Comprising all of Bulwer's Novels. Cooper. Dumas. James. G. W. M. Reynolds. Lever. Lover. Cockton. D. Jerrold. Al. Smith. Dickens. Shakespeare Novels. Lady Bulwer. Miss E. Pickering. Mrs. Gore. Mrs. Grey. T. S. Arthur. Emerson Bennett. Capt. Marryat. Ainsworth. Lippard. C. J. Peterson. Mrs. George Sands [*sic*]. Madame de Stael. Frank Forrester. Judge Haliburton. Ned Buntline. Eugene Sue. Newton M. Curtis. Sir Admiral Fisher. H. C. Deming. George Borrow. Sheridan Knowles. W. H. Maxwell.
>
> And many others, too numerous to mention, which we offer to the trade at the lowest market prices.

The war of the booksellers had been declared, but price cutting was not to become general until 1853.

During 1852, the stock of this store increased to 100,000 volumes, and by February 11 included "French Standard Books." Important changes in management accompanied the increase. In the *Alta* of October 1, appeared a notice stating that the partnership of Cooke & LeCount had been dissolved, and that LeCount alone owned the firm. Another notice on January 1, 1853, stated that a new partnership, LeCount & Strong, had been formed. From other advertisements we learn that the firm had numerous agents in the mining districts, and one each in Portland, Oregon, and in Honolulu.[31]

The other old San Francisco firms — Negbaur & Lord, Wilson & Spaulding, and de Massey's — did not advertise extensively in the daily papers. After Negbaur & Lord was dissolved, each of the partners owned a bookstore in San Francisco. Wilson withdrew from his firm before May 7, 1851; the *Alta* of that date reported that the store owned by Charles A. Spaulding had suffered a loss of $3,500 in the fire of May fourth. Although we do not have much information about these firms, the new bookstores that were founded do, occasionally, furnish clues as to the later activities of members of dissolved partnerships.

The most complete account of the relationship between book dealers in the east and a firm in California during 1851-1852 is found in Bancroft's memoirs.[32] In 1851, George H. Derby & Co., booksellers and publishers in Buffalo, N. Y., sent a consignment of literary and religious books directly to the importing firm of Reed, Grimm & Co., in Sacramento. In an editorial note, the *Pacific* of November 7, 1851, described this invoice after it had arrived: "They are books of the right stamp, and we hope that they may find a ready sale among a population that has neglected such reading quite too long." Since the importers paid Derby by the end of 1851, we know that the consignment sold readily.

Shortly thereafter, Derby sent two young clerks — Hubert H. Bancroft and George Kenney — to California to sell additional books. In November 1852, the clerks arranged with William B. Cooke (formerly of Cooke & LeCount) to form the partnership of Cooke, Kenny & Co. Purchasers in San Francisco bought the books so consistently that the partners were able to remit $500 to Derby's firm every steamer day until the whole consignment was sold. From advertisements in the *Alta* during December 1852 and January 1853, we learn that included in the lot were the poems of Burns, *The Book of Home Beauty* edited by Mrs. Caroline Kirkland, *The Pacific and Dead Sea Expedition* by J. S. Jenkins, and novels by Scott and William H. Maxwell. These transactions were important to the reading public, for the new firm imported not only current books but also editions of standard works different from those supplied to Californians by older dealers.

Four other new firms began to sell books in San Francisco during 1851. In February, Charles P. Kimball, who called himself "The Noisy Carrier" because he hawked newspapers in a loud baritone voice, established a store to sell, specifically, the books published by Gleason's of Boston.[33] Kimball was well known by this time in San Francisco, because he had published the city's first directory. At his store he specialized in paper-backed novels — the type which were to become dime novels in the next decade. According to the *Alta* of July 1, 1851, a second book-firm was established in May 1851 by Louis H. Bonestell & Henry C. Williston. Bonestell's "Autobiography"[34] gives only a little information on the early history of this firm, but from it we learn that the partners were brothers-in-law from New York, who, before they began to work for the *Alta*, had been unsuccessful in the California placers. It was their experience with the *Alta* that caused them to invest money in a small book and stationery shop, as they were convinced that there would be enough patronage for another bookstore. From advertisements in the *Alta* in 1852, we see that this firm sold popular novels, law books, and portraits of Lola Montez. By June 4, 1852, John Gihon (later one of the authors of the *Annals of San Francisco*) and T. R. Johnson were advertising that they had Bibles and prayer books for sale in their new bookstore. About that time, also, Henry Pomier founded Le Cabinet de Lecture Français; in *L'Echo du Pacifique* of August 7, 1852, it is stated that Le Cabinet had 12,000 volumes for sale or rent.

The newspapers of 1851 and 1852 give us other side-lights on the book trade in San Francisco. For instance, the *Alta* of June 18, 1851, reported that:

> A CART LOAD — A live Yankee has adopted the plan of traveling up and down Long

> wharf, with a horse and wagon, the latter filled with literature for sale, of every description, from the horrifying yellow covered stories of robbers and murderers up to the classics and histories.

On November 20, 1851, the same paper, in the vernacular of the day, reported a petty crime, indicating that books had a ready sale in San Francisco: "*A Literary Thief.* – A German named Crowald, was charged with having stolen a quantity of books. He acknowledged the corn, but said he stole the books to sell, as he was sadly in want of money. Decision reserved." And from the *Alta* of November 25, we learn that books were sold at cigar stores, for the reporter related that one party to a shooting affray had taken refuge in Sullivan's cigar store, and Sullivan himself was saved from death by the bookstand.

We might think that the twelve bookstores in San Francisco at that time could absorb all of the books shipped to the state, but, from advertisements inserted in the press during 1851 and 1852, it is apparent that several consignments of books were sold at auction, just as were commodities of all kinds. An early record of an auction of books in Spanish and of law books appeared in the *Alta* of February 19, 1851; other auctions of books were held on May 24 and June 28, 1851, and on January 29, March 4, and October 28, 1852.

The notice for the auction of March 4 states that Henry S. Fitch & Co.,

> will sell a large invoice of Books, just received from England, embracing about 500 volumes, consisting in part of – Shakespeare's Works; Alison's History of London; Brown's Architecture; American Scenery; Book of Ballads; Boxiana; Picture of London; People's Music Book; Stewart's Illustrations; Barclay's Dictionary; Lamartine; Views in Essex; Progressive Drawing; Drawing room Table Book, 1848; Doddridge's Family Expositor; Goldsmith's England; Gem of Beauty; Grammar of Law; Holland and Belgium; Hume's England; Willis's Pencillings; Waldenses, divisions 1, 2, and 3; Watt's Lyric Poems.
>
> Together with a great variety of works on Physic, Law, Literature, Religion, Politics, &c., &c.
>
> This sale will present the finest opportunity for the purchase of Books, ever offered in California.
>
> Will be sold without reserve. Terms cash.
>
> HENRY S. FITCH & CO.

The notice of October 28 reads:

> SPECIAL SALE BY CATALOGUE OF 3,500 Volumes of French Works, By the most popular writers of the day, such as Lamartine, Michelet, Guizot, Thiers, Eugene Sue, George Sand, &c &c. The catalogue will be out and the books ready for examination early this morning.

Statistics printed in the *Alta* of April 22, 1852, recorded eight bookstores in Sacramento, of which Curle Brothers, Negbaur & Co., and George W. Murray (LeCount's agent) were the largest. Curle Brothers advertised standard works, fiction, and school books in the *Daily Democratic State Journal* of February 16, 1852; and in the Stockton *Journal* of July 8, 1852, Negbaur & Co.'s stores in Sacramento and Stockton were said to have "a large assortment of English, Spanish, French and German books; Novels; new publications; standard works; etc."

The number of bookstores in Stockton and Marysville was increasing. In the Stockton *Republican* of December 10, 1851, and July 14, 1852, notices were inserted by Reynolds, Todd, & Co., advertising novels and "every variety of cheap literature," for sale to the wholesale and retail trade "at less than San Francisco prices." We might wonder what were the prices for standard books at that time. The advertisements were singularly silent on this point, but the price level must have been satisfactory, otherwise Marvin & Hitchcock of San Francisco would not have listed, in the *Republican* of December 26, 1852, the names of standard authors for readers in the San Joaquin Valley and in the southern mining towns. Previously, that year, the El Dorado News Depot of Stockton had inserted the following advertisement in the Stockton *Journal* of October 26, 1852: "Just received . . . a Complete assortment of Publications consisting in part of Reynolds', Eugene Sue's, Levers's [*sic*], Dickens', Dumas', Cockton's, Cooper's, and many others, latest best works."[35]

When Eddy's bookstore in Marysville burned in 1851, the *Alta* said (Sept. 2) that the loss had been $6,000. After re-opening, he advertised in the *Herald* (Feb. 19-Dec. 25, 1852) *Entewa*, a romance of California by J. R. Poynter, M.D. (*cf.* Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 33).

As early as 1851, wholesale dealers in San Francisco seem to have appreciated the fact that books were being widely distributed throughout the mining region; Burgess, Gilbert & Still's notice in the *Alta* of June 3, 1851, included these words: "N. B. The trade supplied at prices 20 per cent lower than any other house"; and its advertisement in the *Pacific* of September 12, 1851, read in part:

> Country Merchants, Express Riders and Pedlers can be supplied with all the latest novels, magazines, and new newspapers on the most favorable terms. As great inducements will be offered them [t]hey are invited to call before purchasing elsewhere.

The advertisements of three bookstores in the mining region of the Sierra Nevada are especially valuable, as they give the names of authors and the titles of several books on sale. Gaylord S. Wells (LeCount's agent) placed a notice in the Sonora *Herald* of March 18, 1851, in which, under "Poetry for the Cabin," were listed the names of Shakespeare, Spenser, Wordsworth, Byron, Moore, Campbell, and Schiller (with the notation "in German"). Wells' store had a circulating library. He advertised in the *Pacific* of May 28, 1852, that literary, historical, scientific, and religious works, in English, French, Spanish, German, and Italian, were available, showing that the owner desired the trade of the cosmopolitan population southeast of Stockton. At Downieville, Samuel Langton's firm (LeCount's agent) listed in the *Mountain Echo* of November 2, 1852, poems by Milton; a one-volume edition of the poems of Goldsmith, Rogers, Griswold, and Montgomery; *The*

Dramatic and Poetical Works of Joanna Baillie; Robert Pollock's *The Course of Time;* novels and tales of Scott, Hannah More, and Mary Howitt; essays by Donald G. Mitchell; historical and biographical works by George Bancroft, Prescott, and Abbott; works of travel by Walter Colton; and "The Classical Library" (in thirty-seven volumes).

These specific lists are not only important in themselves but they rectify the impression a reader might gain from a remark by Mrs. Louise Clappe. "Dame Shirley" sent to her sister on October 29, 1851, from Indian Bar on the Feather River, a description of "Yank's" general store at Smith's Bar, which contained "the most comical olla podrida of heterogeneous merchandise that I ever saw. . . . The quality of his goods, it must be confessed, is sometimes rather equivocal. His collection of novels is by far the largest, the greasiest, and the 'Yellowest-kivered' of any to be found on the river."[36] Clearly, since 1851, the supply of good books had increased in the mining region.[37]

The number of bookstores near Coloma shows how sharp the competition among them became by the end of 1852. In the issues of the *Empire County Argus* from December 1852 to February 1853, can be seen not only advertisements for Waldron & Co. of Coloma, but also notices for two bookstores at Placerville — Pickering & Bradshaw, and Nash & Davis; there was also a notice about William T. Gibbs[38] & Co.'s store in Georgetown. These last-named partners owned a branch store at Bottle Hill. Thus the miners of El Dorado County (of whom there were about 20,000) could secure books from at least five stores within a radius of less than twenty miles of Coloma.

The diary of Charles T. H. Palmer, to which reference has been made above, gives us a first-hand account of the business methods of bookdealers in this region east of Sacramento. In 1851 he invested his money in a joint account with Marvin & Hitchcock in San Francisco, and accepted a consignment of books from the east. After deciding not to settle either in Marysville or Auburn because of too much competition, Palmer exclaimed in his diary on September 29, 1851: "Well! I'm settled in Ophir. . . . I left San Francisco with a stock of Books and Stationery, costing at U.S. prices nearly $450. About 900 volumes are novels for the Circulating Library."[39] He shared a small building with a pharmacist and became agent for an express company. By October 27, 1851, he moved his store and express office into his own building. He wrote in his journal in March 1852: "Gross receipts in Bookstore are from two fifty to three hundred a month, and about three-fifths profit."

Anton Roman, mentioned above, became one of the important booksellers in the Trinity Mountains. He took the books he had purchased in San Francisco, at the store of Burgess, Gilbert & Still, to the vicinity of Shasta City to sell during the winter months; "but finding the book business so profitable," he wrote, "I gave up gold-digging and continued selling books . . ."[40]

as a peddler. We learn from the Shasta *Courier* of March 12, 1853, that by that date he owned a wholesale and retail store, which had for sale copies of poems by "Shakespeare, Byron, Milton, Gray, Campbell, and other distinguished poets," and current novels. A second advertisement in the same newspaper shows that Roman's competitor was G. W. King (LeCount's agent), whose store dated from 1852.[41]

When looking for testimony on the book trade in the mining region at that time, we find that the newcomers usually recorded matters other than those pertaining to this type of enterprise. Palmer is an excellent case in point; in his diary he did not mention the bookstores of Nevada City (where he lived in 1851) until after he had decided to sell books. We know, from the list of LeCount's agents given in Parker's San Francisco *Directory* for 1852-1853, that A. C. Hodge was his agent in Nevada City.[42] Casual references to book supplies are found in letters from James Carr to his mother in Illinois. On April 3, 1852, he wrote from Woods Creek, near Sonora, that he had "tried while in town to get 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' but it is not to be had here or in San Francisco.... There are two or three book stores in town where we can always get all the light reading we want...."[43] That *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was not available in California at that time is to be taken as a matter of course, for it was not published in book form in Boston until March 20, 1852; but the fact that miners had heard of it, in serial form, shows their curiosity concerning controversial fiction of the day. John McWilliams, from Missouri, recounted in his recollections that about 1851 or 1852 he had asked a certain Mr. Weber, a trader at Shasta, to send him a book; Weber, with good taste, sent Plutarch's *Lives*.[44]

Between 1851 and 1852, we have only one record of a dealer who sold books in a town of the farming regions of the state, viz., Elliott Reed of San Jose, who, by the end of 1852, was selling the books he had secured from LeCount's store in San Francisco.[45] After that date, the trade in books expanded into other towns of the farming districts; but any reader who wanted books before the beginning of 1853 could order them easily from San Francisco.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. *See* Dolores Bryant, "No. 77 Long Wharf," this QUARTERLY, XXI (March 1942), 75-79; and Madeleine B. Stern, "Anton Roman," *ibid.*, XXVIII (March 1949), 1-18.

2. H. H. Bancroft, *Literary Industries* (see note 3 below), p. 173.

3. The earliest reference in historical works to the book trade in California is found in the *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 304. In a long footnote in the *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-1890), VI, 176-77, 179, 183, H. H. Bancroft mentions five book and stationery stores – Marvin & Hitchcock, Cooke & LeCount, S. Neage-

bauer, Still & Conner, and Wilson & Spaulding. In *Literary Industries* (San Francisco, 1890), *passim,* Bancroft gives some facts concerning his own firm in San Francisco, but he does not mention bookstores in any of the other cities or towns of the state. Recent historians of California imply that a supply of books was common in San Francisco, but they have not discussed the history of the book trade, nor considered the types of books sold in the stores.

4. Bancroft, *California, op. cit.,* III, 677-78. *See also* Susanna Bryant Dakin, *The Lives of William Hartnell* (Stanford, 1949), pp. 159-63, 209, 212; and Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World* (London, 1847), I, 345.

5. Bancroft, *op. cit.,* V, 636.

6. Nellie van de Grift Sanchez, *Spanish Arcadia* (Los Angeles, 1929), pp. 226-30. The *Leonor,* a Mexican ship of 207 tons, was on the coast again in 1833-34, also in 1835. Bancroft, *California, op. cit.,* III, 383. How much of the total duties paid by the *Leonor* ($1,419) was allocated to books, is not specified by Bancroft. For additional evidences of Vallejo's interest in books, *see also* Madie D. Brown, "Gen. M. G. Vallejo and H. H. Bancroft," this QUARTERLY, XXIX (June 1950), 149-59.

7. Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 151.

8. Sanchez, *op. cit.,* pp. 224-26. *See also* Susanna Bryant Dakin, *A Scotch Paisano* (Berkeley, 1939), *passim;* and George D. Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer* (New York, 1930), *passim.*

9. William Rich Hutton, *Glances at California* (San Marino, 1942), pp. 16, 18. Frai Gerundio (1703-1781) was a Jesuit satirist and reformer; one of his plays was written to celebrate the ascension to the throne of Fernando VI. He was silenced by the Inquisition. Mateo Alemán (died c. 1610) wrote *Vida y hechos del picaro Guzman de Alfarache* (1599 and 1605) – the first picaresque romance. It is interesting to observe that Alemán's book circulated widely in the New World immediately after its publication; see Irving A. Leonard, *Books of the Brave* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 258-69. Manuel José Quintana (1772-1857) was a patriotic poet, historian, and editor; *Vidas* was published in three volumes, 1807-1834. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575) published his *Historia* in 1627; it became a masterpiece of Spanish historical literature.

10. California Newspaper Clippings, 1848-1849, scrapbook in Bancroft Library.

11. For example, Salmon and Ellis' importing firm advertised school books in the *Pacific News,* Sept. 8, 1849. On Jan. 19, 1850, Atwill & Co. (owners of a music store) sought patronage in the same journal; thereafter, they regularly advertised music books for sale.

12. *See* Hazel N. Chambers, "John Hamilton Still," *Quarterly News Letter,* Book Club of California, XV (Fall, 1950), 75-80.

13. George Hitchcock, "Statement" (manuscript, Bancroft Library). Charles T. H. Palmer, "Diary" (manuscript in possession of Mr. Anson Blake of Berkeley), March 21, 1851, described Marvin and Hitchcock thus: "They are two good fellows – Marvin, keen, enterprising, Hitchcock, with a small body, but a heart as big as an ox." Hitchcock arrived on Sept. 27, 1849, with friends of Palmer. Both Marvin and Hitchcock spent a short time in the mining region before founding their bookstore. A view of their store (in the City Hotel building) appears in the *Annals of San Francisco,* p. 346. I wish to thank Mr. Blake for kindly permitting me to read the unpublished diary of C. T. H. Palmer.

14. Felix P. Wierzbicki was a Polish physician who came to the United States in 1834 (and to California in 1847), taught in a New England academy, published a book, articles in the *American Whig Review,* and served in the Mexican War in the New York Volunteers. (Bancroft, *op. cit.,* V, 774.) A recent edition of *California as It Is* was edited by George Lyman (San Francisco, 1933); *see* pp. v-xxx.

15. By April 13, 1850, Still had formed the partnership of Still & Thomas, but Thomas

withdrew by May first. On Aug. 1, 1850, the partnership of Still & Conner was formed, with Still, John W. Conner, and James O. Forrest as members. (*Alta California*, hereafter cited as *Alta*, Aug. 5, 1850.) This partnership was dissolved by Jan. 1, 1851. The *Alta* reported (Dec. 3, 1850) that Robert H. Still had been committed to jail for having tried to wreck his brother's bookstore. A view of Still's store is given in the *Illustrated California News*, Nov. 1, 1850.

16. The *Pacific News* spelled Negbaur's name Neugebauer; however, Negbaur was the common spelling in later periodicals; *cf.* note 3 above.

17. William B. Cooke & Co. was organized by June 25, 1850. According to the *Alta* of Sept. 2, 1850, Cooke & LeCount had been organized by that date, with Josiah J. LeCount as the new member of the partnership. *See* mention of, in *Register of First Class Business Houses in San Francisco* (San Francisco, Oct. 1852), p. 91.

18. *Alta,* Sept. 24, 1850; on Nov. 3, 1850, the importing firm of Hastings & Co. announced in the *Alta* that schoolbooks had just arrived; and on Dec. 17, Herman Hughes (another importer) specified law books for sale.

19. Ernest de Massey, *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush* (San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc. *Sp. Pub.* No. 2, 1927), p. 178. The early part of this fascinating journal is a diary; the last part, incomplete memoirs. De Massey was, according to Marguerite E. Wilbur, editor of his diary, "one of the younger sons of the French nobility . . . a member of a well-known family who had lived for many generations at the Chateau de Passavant on the Upper Saône River near the Swiss border" (*idem,* p. 9). It was advantageous for any frontier that one of its earliest book dealers should have had the tastes of a member of the aristocratic class of the Old Régime.

20. Copy of book now in the possession of Mrs. Franklin Hittell of San Francisco. I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Hittell for her many kindnesses in permitting me to examine the library of John and Theodore Hittell.

21. George Payson, *Golden Dreams and Leaden Realities* (New York, 1853), p. 248.

22. James Lloyd La Fayette Warren arrived in California in 1849 from Brighton, Mass.; in 1854 he founded the *California Farmer*, an agricultural and literary weekly. *See* Walton E. Bean, "James Warren," *Pacific Historical Review*, XIII (Dec. 1944), 361-75.

23. The Sacramento Mercantile Library was founded in June 1850.

24. Eddy was listed as an agent for the *Placer Times* on May 5, 1850; possibly he was a book dealer at that time.

25. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

26. Payson, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

27. The firm of Burgess, Gilbert & Still was organized by Jan. 21, 1851, by W. F. Burgess, James A. Gilbert (not to be confused with Edward Gilbert, founder of the *Alta*), and Still; see the San Francisco *Herald*, Jan. 21 and 27, 1851.

28. Mrs. Elizabeth Maria Bonney Willis Parker arrived in San Francisco in 1849 from New Orleans; she was a correspondent for the New Orleans *Delta*, the author of an ode to celebrate the admission of California to the Union, and the founder of a "Female Institute" in 1851. *Alta*, June 19, 1851; and Julia Cooley Altrocchi, "Paradox Town," this QUARTERLY, XXVIII (March 1949), 34.

29. *See* note 13, above.

30. Anton Roman, "The Genesis of the Overland Monthly," *Overland Monthly*, XL (Sept. 1902), 220; and Stern, *op. cit., passim.*

31. LeCount's advertisement in Parker's San Francisco *Directory* for 1852-1853 stated: "He who does the largest business can afford to do it at the smallest percentage of profit." It also said (erroneously) that the firm was "The oldest and most popular establishment in California."

32. Bancroft, *Literary Industries, op. cit.*, pp. 119-38. Bancroft was Derby's brother-in-law.

33. Bryant, *op. cit., passim;* and Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Waybills* (New York, 1934), pp. 128-29. A picture of Kimball's store is found in Morgan's San Francisco *Directory* for 1852, p. 120.

34. Louis H. Bonestell, "An Autobiography," *Quarterly* of the California Society of Pioneers, IV (Sept. 1927), 116-35. Bonestell was born in 1827; he went to California in 1849. During 1850, he worked as a carpenter in San Francisco. It was Williston's idea to found a book and stationery store.

35. LeCount's advertisement (see note 31 above) states that, by the end of 1852, A. D. Wallace had become LeCount's agent in Stockton. The Reynolds mentioned in the advertisement is G. W. M. Reynolds, a British novelist.

36. Louise Clappe, *The Shirley Letters* (San Francisco, 1922), pp. 128-29, reprinted from the *Pioneer Magazine*, II (Oct. 1854), 217.

37. In addition to LeCount's agents mentioned in the text, by the end of 1852 his representatives were doing business at Mokelumne Hill (W. A. Brown), Mariposa (G. W. Steele), and Columbia (Joseph Harrison). Adams & Co.'s Express offices in El Dorado, Calaveras, and Placer counties also acted as agents for LeCount. (Note 31 above.)

38. W. T. Gibbs, "Recollections," Georgetown *Gazette*, Oct. 1, 1903. I wish to thank Mrs. Amy Horn Drysdale of Georgetown for calling this article to my attention, and for permitting me to consult the valuable file of the *Gazette* in her possession.

39. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

40. Roman, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-21.

41. *See* "View of Shasta," copyrighted by King's Book Store in 1852.

42. *See* note 31 above.

43. James Carr, "The California Letters," this QUARTERLY, XI (March 1932), 167.

44. John McWilliams, *Recollections* (Princeton, n.d.), p. 89.

45. *See* note 31 above. It is interesting to observe that in 1851 St. Clair & Pinkham of Benicia published John J. Werth's *A Dissertation on the Resources and Policy of California. . . .*

Henry George's Oxford Speech

By Elwood P. Lawrence

NOWADAYS it is Americans who question political and economic ideas imported from socialistic Great Britain. But in the 1880's the reverse was true. Then the British were viewing with alarm subversive ideas imported from California, and Henry George, disseminator of those ideas in his *Progress and Poverty*, was, and continued for ten years to be, the number-one enemy of British conservatism.

Both George and *Progress and Poverty* were products of California. As Charles A. Barker has stated, the far west was, during the 1860's and 1870's, "at once creative, troubled, divided, and evocative of social thought and economic plan."[1] George came to California in 1859; by 1879 his most famous volume had been brought out in San Francisco, both author and book being expressions of the frontier atmosphere described above by Barker.

George made five visits to Great Britain during the 1880's, chiefly to spread his land views. Three of these visits were extended lecturing-tours, and, though he was generally applauded by socialists, left-wing members of the Liberal party, and the working-class, he was violently attacked by defenders of the *status quo*. Most of these attacks were in the editorial columns of newspapers, but one of them was made publicly by the audience he faced at Oxford University on March 7, 1884.

Late in December 1883, George had sailed for England, having been invited by the Land Reform Union to agitate throughout Britain for changes in the land laws. This was his second visit to Great Britain. He inaugurated the tour with a lecture in London on January 9, 1884. The Oxford meeting was the twenty-fourth engagement on this trip; before coming there he had ranged as far north as the Isle of Skye. He was then forty-five years of age.

The story of the Oxford meeting supplies a background for the debate, begun a month later in the columns of the *Nineteenth Century*, between Henry George and the Duke of Argyll.* In his article, "The Prophet of San Francisco," Argyll set forth the main lines on which George was opposed in Great Britain by the propertied class. Instead of attempting "to argue" with George, his object was to expose George's "results." The same magazine carried George's answer – "The Reduction to Iniquity" – in the July number. He declared that it was generally a "waste of time to reply to those who do not argue. . . . The Duke declares it has not been his aim to argue. . . . This is clear. I wish it were as clear it had not been his aim to misrepresent." As we shall see, misrepresentation was the key to the Oxford reaction to George's

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*Both articles have been combined into a 77-page booklet entitled *Property in Land—a Passage at Arms between the Duke of Argyll and Henry George* (New York: Charles L. Webster & Co., 1893); the portions quoted here may be found on pages 40 and 43.

views, for his audience seemed to be in substantial agreement with the attitude of the Duke of Argyll.

What really happened at Oxford? Henry George, Jr., said that his father was merely the victim of "a bunch of unruly young aristocrats,"[2] who by their yells and shouts created a disturbance throughout the meeting. His son has also stated that George was prevented from discussing the land issue rationally by the manner in which the discussion was carried on.[3] Instead of putting simple questions, members of the audience made speeches attacking George's point of view.

But the explanation is not as simple as this. The meeting was certainly disorderly. An Exeter College student, in a letter to the London *Daily News*,[4] complained of the "disgraceful uproar" that prevented him from hearing a clear account of George's proposals. A contemporary, almost verbatim, account of the meeting[5] is crowded with parenthetical remarks indicating audience-reaction: not only "hear, hear" and "applause," but "hissing," "By George," "Oh, oh," "great uproar," all indicating something less than enthusiasm for land nationalization.

The Exeter College student, already referred to, added a fact which explains this disorder. It was apparently an audience packed with anti-Georgites; the young man described himself as "one of the few" present with a desire to hear and learn. But to get a true picture of the character of the meeting another fact must be added. The newspaper account shows that George's speech was fairly listened to with no more interruption than is normally met with in addressing a British audience. It was only in the subsequent give and take of the question period that "the meeting assumed a very disorderly character, and was brought to rather an abrupt conclusion about a quarter to eleven o'clock."[6]

As for the complaint that during the question period members of the audience debated with George, instead of asking simple, straightforward questions, this was true only of Alfred Marshall, the economist. But it is true that all the questions were hostile, and this fact may have nettled George.

The disorderly character of the meeting was also due to three factors whose importance George could have foreseen only if he had been gifted with second sight. First, George spoke, by intention, for only twenty minutes, reserving the remaining time for questions from the floor. Since serious interruptions occurred only during the question period, it seems likely that had George given more time to an exposition of his views he would have escaped most of the irritations that upset him.

Second, George seems to have been aiming at the wrong target in his lecture. Instead of a detailed exposition of his views on the land question, the talk was inspirational. George seemed to believe that he could rally the students to him by an appeal to the spirit of *noblesse oblige*, on the assumption that as young people they would respond to an idealistic approach. This assumption proved to be false. George reminded the students of their privileged position and therefore of their social responsibility. It took, he said, £250 a year to keep each of them at the university, and he wanted to know how many people in England could earn as much by hard, straining work. He described the destitution and suffering of the working class; he said that charity was not a solution to the problem, and appealed to the students themselves to do something positive to improve conditions in England. This "something" was to support George's proposal for the nationalization of the land. The lecture ended with a very brief, one-paragraph summary of what came to be called later the Single Tax Principle.

George's appeal to the students of Oxford was an echo of some remarks he had made seven years earlier, on March 9, 1877, in a speech entitled "The Study of Political Economy," given before the regents, faculty, and students of the University of California.[7] After outlining his views on political economy he appealed directly, as later at Oxford, to the young people before him: "You are of the favored few, for the fact that you are here, students in a university of this character, bespeaks for you the happy accidents that fall only to the lot of the few." Later they might realize "how the hard struggle which is the lot of so many may cramp and bind and distort—how it may . . . grind out of men the joy and poetry of life." And, as later at Oxford, he urged that the spectacle of "want and wretchedness" should "move you to sadness and pity . . . nerve you to high resolve."

Third, George lost his temper during the question period. He was exhausted by his long tour[8] and was plainly upset, not only by the interruptions but by the nature of the opposition to his views, and by the insistence of his opponents that he did not answer the questions. Two examples will show that George's answers were likely not to quiet the boisterous members of the audience.

When Alfred Marshall asked George why, in *Progress and Poverty*, he had only one chapter on thrift, which showed that working men could not benefit their position by thrift and industry, George, instead of answering directly, was inclined to be captious. He declared that he was not there that evening to answer questions on *Progress and Poverty;* that it was some time since he had read the book. And when Marshall asked George to prove that landlordism was responsible for poverty, George merely replied that there was an excessive amount of poverty in England. This was surely *post hoc* reasoning and justified Marshall's contention that his question had not been answered.

An even more obvious example of George's irritation under questioning was his duel with a Rev. Mr. A. H. Johnstone. This gentleman admitted the existence of destitution in England, but he also wanted proof that monopoly of the land by the few was the cause. Whether or not the land was nationalized, he asked, would not an overwhelming population cause competition and a reduction of wages? The exchange which followed, and the noises of the crowd, speak for themselves:

> Mr. George said in a natural state of things they would never have had an overwhelming population. It is not that kind of world.
>
> Mr. Johnstone said he wished to state as Mr. Marshall had done, that Mr. George had not answered his question. He asked him not for sentiment, but to address himself to a theoretical problem, and he would not do it. (Uproar.)
>
> Mr. George – Will the gentleman please state his theoretical problem; and in case his [George's] memory should fail him, will he put it on paper? (Great uproar.)
>
> Mr. Johnstone – I will do what the Chairman suggests. (A Voice, "Sit down.") My problem is given in the land nationalized, and an overwhelming population, would not a competition for wages at once commence, and would not wages fall nearly to the starvation point?
>
> Mr. George – Get a pint pot and pour it into a gallon, and what would happen? If ifs and ands were pots and pans. That is an insult to the intelligence of this audience. (Uproar.)[9]

Shortly after this exchange, the meeting reached its nadir in a word-battle between George and Mr. Conybeare. Conybeare, the son-in-law of Max Müller,[10] George's host at Oxford, rose in the audience and "described this nostrum to confiscate the land as scandalously immoral." George blew up. The altercation is best described in the reporter's own words.

> Mr. Conybeare – I said this proposal was, as I believed, scandalously immoral.
>
> Mr. George – You stigmatized it as a nostrum.
>
> Mr. Conybeare – I should like to ask Mr. George if he likes people to be sincere with him?
>
> Mr. George – I do, but I like people to be gentlemen with me if they can. (Uproar.)
>
> Mr. Conybeare – I consider, Sir, I have been so with you. (Great uproar, which lasted several minutes.)
>
> An undergraduate said he thought Mr. George should withdraw his imputations on Mr. Conybeare.
>
> Mr. George – No, I will not withdraw anything. Mr. Conybeare says it was gentlemanly. All I have to say is that he was raised in one school and I in another. (Uproar.)
>
> Mr. Lodge proposed that the meeting decline any longer to listen to Mr. George. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) . . .
>
> Mr. George said this was a University town, and it was the most disorderly meeting he had ever addressed. He would not answer any more questions. . . .
>
> The meeting then broke up with groans for "Land Nationalization" and "Land Robbery."[11]

The key to this altercation was the application of "nostrum" to George's plan for land nationalization. Misunderstanding over the meaning of this word was the source of an apochryphal story, published four years later in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, during George's fourth visit to Great Britain.[12] According to this journal, George arose in a towering passion at the mention of "nostrum" and demanded the retraction of the word. A bitter wrangle followed, during which it was learned that in America "nostrum" had an offensive meaning unknown in England. Mr. Conybeare then retracted. In the lull which followed, a mild-mannered professor was heard to remark that "he could not hold the gentleman [Conybeare] who had used this word free from blame, for he ought to have reflected that a man who did not understand the difference between *Meum* and *Tuum* was not likely to be acquainted with the meaning of *nostrum*."

Three reasons have already been given to show that the opposition to George at Oxford was due to more than the antics of "a bunch of unruly young aristocrats." To these must be added a fourth reason, that Oxford University reflected strongly the Conservative and Liberal opposition which George had so far encountered in the British press. This attitude at Oxford was set forth in *An Elementary System of Socialism Theoretical and Practical*, an anonymous pamphlet by an Oxford student who called himself "A Disciple of Henry George."[13] The object of the writer was to create the impression that George and socialism were synonymous, and that both were equally ridiculous. He does the first by including, with George's "views," those of socialist and radical contemporaries such as Karl Marx, Henry Labouchere[14] (a Radical member of Parliament), H. M. Hyndman, and William Morris. As he states in the Preface, the material in the book is the result of an earnest effort "to develop into a connected system the fruitful principles enunciated by contemporary Socialists and especially by Mr. Henry George."

He accomplishes the second part of his objective by over-simplification, irony, parody, and sheer distortion. The work is divided into short "books": "The Socialist's Alphabet," "The Socialist's Arithmetic," "The Socialist's Articles of Faith," and so forth. In each of these, so-called facts are presented in a ridiculous fashion. For example, "The Socialist's Alphabet: or A. B. C. for the men of three letters" is footnoted as follows: "The Romans branded a thief with the three letters f, u, r – fur, a thief. Hence 'a man of three letters proverbial for thief.' " We learn from the alphabet a variety of "facts" about George which, perhaps unconsciously, illustrate his popularity and show how his opponents tried to reduce his proposals to an absurdity:

> G is for George, the Fifth of the name;[15]
> H is the Household word which he became. . . .
> O are the Orphans and Widows whose right
> P Pounds one hundred will amply requite.
> Q is the Queen, the first to be pensioned.[16] . . .
> S is the Soil and our scheme of salvation. . . .
> X – propriation for stealing's their cant.[17]

The whole pamphlet is on this level of criticism. One of the postulates of "The Socialist's Geometry" is: "Let it be granted that any land can be divided without squaring the landlord." Under "Politics," government is defined as "an institution for expropriating possessors, dissolving contracts, destroying credit, and encouraging disorder and crime," and "Progress is

Poverty." Book X, "The Socialist's Logic," declares that "Property is an accident."

Seen in this new light, George's failure at Oxford was due to more than a breach of good manners. The reason was a mixture of such ingredients as the speaker's physical condition, his irritation, his failure to give the desired answers to questions, his misjudgment of the temper of his listeners, and a prejudicial attitude on the part of the audience. In this reconstructed form, the incident highlights the relationship of George in 1884 to the vested interests he was attacking in his agitation for land reform in Great Britain.

The resemblance of the Oxford reaction to the conservative British opposition to George may be gathered from a typical editorial comment on the Californian's crusade:

> In plain English, Mr. Henry George and his followers are simply expounding familiar and exploded doctrines of Communism in a slightly disguised form, and with the sublime disregard for facts and experience by which Communistic theorists are always distinguished. Such persons are the most dangerous enemies of real progress, for they arouse the instincts of Conservatism and self-interest in the community to a combative mood, and prepare the way for an unfavorable reception of reforms which would actually be beneficial.[18]

In "plain English," conservative Britons considered Henry George's scheme uninformed, impractical, and immoral. His reception at Oxford was a virulent expression of this feeling. It is, to say the least, ironical that the English should have been more upset in the 1880's by an expression of Californian individualism than they were by the doctrines of Karl Marx. Henry George could have desired no greater proof of the effectiveness of his campaign.

How effective his campaign had been in the collegiate arena may be judged, indirectly, by excerpts from a lecture given a year later by the new incumbent of the professorship of political economy at Cambridge University. His predecessor had been Arnold Toynbee, a student of social reform, deceased in 1883 at the slim age of thirty — "in whose place," the new incumbent said, "I unworthily stand." The name of the new incumbent was Alfred Marshall, a dozen years Toynbee's senior in point of age. Was the voice of another social reformer, the man he had heard appealing to Oxford men to aid in the relief of destitution, persisting, still, in Marshall's ears when he asked his Cambridge audience:

> Why are so many lives draggled on through dirt and squalor and misery? Why are there so many haggard faces and stunted minds? Chiefly because there is not wealth enough; and what there is, is not well distributed, and well used. . . . Why should it be left for impetuous socialists and ignorant orators to cry aloud that none ought to be shut out by want of material means from the opportunity of leading a life that is worthy of man?[19]

Marshall mentioned no *impetuous socialist* in particular. For himself, his ambition was, he said,

> . . . to increase the numbers of those, whom Cambridge, the great mother of strong men,

sends out into the world with cool heads but warm hearts, willing to give some at least of their best powers to grappling with the social suffering around them. . . .

A century and three years after a certain American Revolutionary shot began its tour of the ether, the "Prophet of San Francisco" had launched one, which, by 1885, was well on its way toward round-the-world audition—and dissection.

NOTES

1. Charles A. Barker, "Henry George and the California Background of 'Progress and Poverty,'" this QUARTERLY, XXIV (June 1945), 97-115; 188.

2. Henry George, Jr., *The Life of Henry George* (New York, 1930), p. 435.

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. March 10, 1884.

5. "Mr. Henry George at Oxford: Disorderly Meeting," *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (hereafter cited as *Jackson's Oxford Journal*), March 15, 1884, p. 6. It is the only contemporary account of the meeting, known to the present author.

6. *Loc. cit.*

7. Quotations, here, from this speech are taken from a 16-page booklet, issued in London in 1935 by the United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values; it was reprinted from the *Popular Science Monthly* of March 1880. Henry George, Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 275-79, also quotes from his father's remarks on this occasion.

8. Anna George de Mille, *Henry George, Citizen of the World* (Chapel Hill: Univ. North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 130.

9. *Jackson's Oxford Journal, loc. cit.*

10. The fact that he was Henry George's host does not mean that he endorsed his views. In a lecture before the Midland Institute, Birmingham, on religion in India, Professor Müller made a passing reference to the English alarm over George. Hysterical protests against the American's land policy, he said, served no purpose: one should apply the historical method to the problem. "Professor Max Müller on Henry George," London *Daily News*, Jan. 23, 1884.

11. *Jackson's Oxford Journal, loc. cit.*

12. Nov. 23, 1888.

13. Oxford: A. Shrimpington, 1884.

14. The chairman of George's first London speech on this tour, at St. James's Hall, Jan. 9, 1884.

15. Henry George was given this title by Labouchere. *See* "Mr. George on Property in Land," London *Daily News*, Jan. 10, 1884.

16. An almost literal transcription of a statement made by George in his St. James's speech.

17. At this time, George was using the word "expropriation" in connection with his land policy. By 1888, it had become the "single tax."

18. *Scotsman*, Jan. 11, 1884.

19. *The Present Position of Economics; an Inaugural Lecture*, Senate House, Cambridge, 24 February 1885 (London: Macmillan, 1885), pp. 54-57. Marshall is designated on the title-page as "Late Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford."

Benjamin Parke Avery

Including a Review of the Office of State Printer, 1850-72

By ERNEST R. MAY

IN the 1820's, in New York City, were born to Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Putnam Avery two sons both of whom, a half-century later, were to aid in furthering opportunities for the enjoyment of art among their fellow citizens through two continentally-separated organizations — the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the San Francisco Art Association.[1] The younger of the two sons (b. Nov. 11, 1828) as miner, journalist, state printer, patron of the arts, and United States minister to China, is the subject of this paper.

CRADLES, ARIAS, AND GOLD DUST

Benjamin P. Avery reached California on the *Aurora* early in July 1849, and shipped up the Sacramento to the gold diggings on Mormon Island.[2] Except for one brief visit in Philadelphia, his preceding twenty-one years had been spent in New York City, where, since boyhood, he had been helping to support his mother after his father's death in the cholera epidemic of 1832. By the time of the gold rush, his brother's success as a book illustrator enabled him to assume their mother's care, and gave Benjamin a chance to leave his own job with a firm of bank-note engravers[3] and take ship for California. After three fruitless months in the placers during the late summer and early fall of 1849, Avery left the men with whom he was prospecting and went to Sacramento. Here he bought salt pork, hard bread, and a little white mule; and, clad in a grey woolen shirt and dungaree trousers, his long brown hair surmounted by a drab flat hat, thick waterproof boots on his feet, and two double-barrelled pistols at his side, he set out for Reading's Bar.[4]

On the way, a group of prospectors, who told tales of "pound diggings" (claims yielding twelve ounces of gold per man per day), induced him to turn northeast toward Gold Run. So he struck out through black oak and grey-green manzanita, and on past forests of pine and cedar, into Deer Creek.[5] It had a store, "a square canvas shanty, stocked with whiskey, pork, mouldy biscuit, and ginger bread, the whiskey four bits a drink, the biscuits a dollar a pound."[6] Avery decided to do his mining in the neighborhood of this larder. The yield was good, but the other miners were "close-mouthed Southern or Western men" who looked upon the "smooth faced 'Yorker' " as an interloper. He found few men to share his taste for art and music.[7]

In spite of his dissatisfaction, Avery did not want to leave Deer Creek without some proof of success, to show his former partners. At last he made a strike, and after dallying a while on the South Yuba he made his way back to Mormon Island. But with one exception his partners couldn't be talked into returning with him. This exception was a man named Franchère. They set out for Sacramento, reaching the town in January 1850, just as the annual rains began to swell the streams. Avery couldn't swim, consequently they decided to wait there until the trails were safe. Quarters were secured in a grounded ship, the *Orb*, which was being used as a steamer landing; and to pay the rent of eight dollars per day, Avery loaded cargo from the deck at a dollar an hour. When the waters receded, he and his partner booked passage to Nye's Landing, a rough new community at the junction of Yuba and Feather rivers. There they learned that Deer Creek was under two feet of snow, and, while waiting for the snow to melt, Avery made a small miner's cradle, an article which was retailing for seventy-five dollars.

At the end of February they reached Deer Creek, but in the few months since Avery's departure the valleys had filled with "long haired Missourians who were taking out their 'piles.'" The store had become a log edifice; and there were no open claims. In their discouragement, Franchère and Avery parted, Avery rambling northward to try out the reported riches of the Trinity basin.[8] From time to time he would stop to pan a stream, but primarily he was enjoying the early spring of the mountain country. One day he was standing by a river, rocking his cradle and singing, full-voice, an aria from *Lucrezia Borgia*, when he was interrupted by a stranger who introduced himself as Peter Tofft, a Danish sailor, away from the sea in search of gold. Tofft said that he recognized the song and wished to meet the miner who sang operatic sequences at his work.[9] They decided to join forces. Together they set off for the Klamath, finding many treasures in conversation though few in ore. The biggest single find during their expedition was $200, which floated down the river in the pockets of a miner's corpse. But along came an attack of dysentery, and by the time they had recovered and returned to work, the snows were beginning to fall. Tofft went to Mokelumne to mine and finally returned to Europe; Avery to Nye's Landing, now become the town of Marysville, to take employment for a time. Although he periodically searched for gold during the next five or six years, his constitution had so suffered that at times he readied himself for death. On one occasion he even pointed out the shade of a sequoia tree for his burial place.[10]

AVERY AND THE *HYDRAULIC PRESS*

In the late fall of 1857 he decided to abandon mining permanently. Cashing in his dust, he purchased a drug store in North San Juan, a small community in Nevada County, that derived its existence from the hydraulic mines in the neighborhood. His store carried drugs, chemicals, paints, and "SELECT WINES AND LIQUORS — for medical use."[11] In the same month, a newspaper, the *Star*, was founded in North San Juan.[12] The town prospered and Avery with it. In August 1858, he purchased the *Star* and renamed it the North San Juan *Hydraulic Press*. Offices were opened on the main street, "opposite the Soda factory," and the price per copy was twenty-five cents or five dollars a year. It proposed to devote itself to the moral interests of the town and the contiguous country, generally designated as the Ridge; it did not expect to "vie with the great newspapers of the cities in the copious publication of general intelligence, or in the attainment of foreign influence. . . ."[13] Nevertheless, it found the death of Miss Susannah Thrale (daughter of Dr. Samuel Johnson's friend, Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi), in London at the age of ninety years, of sufficient importance to report it, calling her the "last survivor of that circle which once surrounded the surly moralist, and which Boswell has immortalized. . . ."[14]

One editorial inveighed against the increasing use of slang among gentlewomen; it cited Timothy Titcomb, who, "in the course of his admirable 'Letters to Young People,' advises young women especially to avoid the use of slang terms which are so commonly heard even in what is called 'good society.'" Titcomb had heard a belle in Washington, D. C., say "My gracious!" which prompted Titcomb to remark: "Now you may regard this as a finical notion, but I tell you that woman fell as flatly in my esteem as if she had uttered an oath."[15] At another time, Avery editorialized against the movement for phonetic spelling, pointing out that the name of the town, so spelled, would be "Naughth Sahn Hwan."[16]

The circulation of the paper expanded and Avery sold his drug store so that he could devote all of his attention to the *Press*.[17] National figures came in for remark in his columns, among them Henry Ward Beecher, who, it will be remembered, espoused the anti-slavery cause but was never an abolitionist of the William Lloyd Garrison type. Beecher had joined the Republican party soon after its organization and was expounding his views with great eloquence in the eastern states. Said Avery:

> Heterodox. – We confess to a strong liking for Henry Ward Beecher. . . . He believes that men are wicked, but says he never feels inclined to use the phrase total depravity, except when he is reading the Boston *Recorder* and the New York *Observer*.[18]

Two months later he expressed himself on the subject of William Cullen Bryant, editor of the New York *Evening Post* from 1825 to his death in 1878, as well as poet, Avery's reason being,

> merely a desire to offer the humble tribute of one who feels grateful for much delight. In our opinion Bryant, among all contemporary poets, is destined to leave the most enduring impression upon the national mind, and to do much towards developing amongst our too sordid countrymen a redeeming love of the beautiful. . . . Longfellow may be the Eolian harp, deliciously sweet and voluptuous, but Bryant is the full-toned organ, which not only melts, but thrills.[19]

In September 1859, Avery took his first vacation since acquiring the *Press*, but as he traveled he kept his readers informed. After attending the Northern District Fair at Marysville, he sent back the following comment on the art exhibit:

> In the department of art we noticed particularly two portraits by Nahl; a very clever

> landscape by Hollis — a young Marysvillian of much promise; admirable colored crayons of fruit, drawn by Mrs. Beach from life; vases of wax flowers, and specimens of fine worsted work. One of the latter, representing Joseph before Pharaoh, is quite masterly, bearing close inspections and having the rich effect of an oil painting. . . . There is the usual variety of needle work, of fancy articles . . . of elegant trifles indicating taste and talent.[20]

He recorded also that he had traveled by the steamer *Antelope* to San Francisco in company with Horace Greeley, then on a western tour:

> . . . The Antelope is waiting for us — we hurry on shore and aboard — gaze at the levee lined with crowds of people — wonder what attracts such an unusually large number of spectators — look for a chair and find that the boat is under way, amid cheers from the bank. Some one says Horace Greeley is in number nine, and so he is. Presently he comes forth, this time actually clad in that same old white coat, minus its buttons; on his head a drab-colored slouch. His linen shows the effects of a stage ride from Marysville. He is without his spectacles and gazes about him with a half blank, half pleased expression of countenance, looking altogether like an unsophisticated old farmer. Where a knot of men are talking and laughing he goes with his peculiar one-sided gait, and listens with a good-natured smile on his broad face, occasionally offering a low-toned remark. Not many seemed to know who he was. He addressed a few words to me in admiration of our native Californian and Spanish names for places, and ridiculing the absurd repetition of such names as those of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, etc.[21]

In the latter part of May 1860, Avery gave an analysis of the political field, averring that to the philosopher

> who can plant himself high above the partisan animosities and contentions that keep such an awful pother on the surface of our country . . . the political field presents a very different aspect from that which it bears in the mental optics of the minglers in its turmoils.[22]

As he saw it, there were pro-slavers and anti-slavers; there were also those who regarded the others as fanatics and put the preservation of the Union first.

AVERY AND THE *APPEAL*

Within a few weeks, announcement was made in the *Hydraulic Press* that it had been traded to William Bausman for the Marysville *Appeal;* that hereafter the *Press* would be under the joint control of Bausman and Waters. At the same time, "Ad Interim," speaking for the new owners, made it clear that there were "few better writers, and still fewer better philosophic thinkers, than Mr. Avery, in the state, and his place is not to be filled by a mere newspaper hackney." This was followed by some pleasant phrases anticipatory of Bausman's, the *Press's* new editor's, talents.[23]

The *Appeal* had been founded in January 1860 by a Democrat, Henry R. Mighels, but had failed to win local support. Under Bausman, another Democrat, its circulation had developed little promise. The publishers stated that they were now selling out "purely on commercial principles, because they received a liberal price for their establishment."[24] As to the retiring editor, he declared that,

> The Republicans are upon us, and we surrender *without* discretion! . . . Mr. Avery, who

> succeeds us, is a gentleman, accomplished in his profession, talented and amiable. Treat him well, even if you feel compelled to repudiate his doctrine. We should like to measure a lance with him on that score; for if vanquished, the chivalric conduct of the victor would render defeat endurable.[25]

The same June 1860 saw other changes in the fortunes of California journals. As reported by Avery:

> The *Daily Democratic Standard*, of Sacramento, came to us yesterday with the announcement that that number closed the career of the paper. [Want of support and debt were said to have been responsible.] The people will not support a paper that advocates Buchanan-Lecompton, and other Lecompton papers we wot of had better take warning by the fate of the *Standard*. . . . Mr. Botts will continue the weekly *Standard*, which will be supported by his revenue as State Printer.[26]

Whether or not a Republican paper would be a financial success was not in question. Until after the elections, the party guaranteed the *Appeal's* existence. The masthead carried the following paragraph:

> The Republican party is the party of conservatism and security. It aims to restore the original policy of the general government, to procure harmony for a disturbed confederacy, and to develop the nation in a nobler direction than it is now pursuing. It is the only party that maintains the dignity of labor, and defends it against the despotism of capital.

Under the caption "Salutatory," Avery explained that his paper was to be an independent Republican journal; it would have and express positive opinions; it would be

> much more respectable and useful than one emasculated by a dull neutrality. As the London *Times* has remarked, a newspaper earns the right to express its own opinions by the opportunity it gives people to form theirs. . . . The Republicans of this part of the State especially need an organ, to promote concert of action among themselves, and to hasten the day when the majortiy shall think as they do.[27]

Some dozen days later the following editorial reiterated the *Appeal's* stand:

> Republicans do believe, so we have heretofore declared, that the only security of popular governments consists in the civil equality and intelligence of the governed. . . . Believing this, Republicans think that keeping six or eight millions out of thirty in a state either of personal bondage or civil inferiority and abject ignorance, is a monstrous wrong against the general interests of society and against our own race, leaving all humanitarian consideration for the blacks out of the question.[28]

He then took up the proposition of removing the blacks to Central America or to the Pacific Islands. By election time, Avery's paper was said to have become one of the most important Republican dailies in the state, surpassed only by the San Francisco *Times*. His name was mentioned in connection with the office of state printer.

THE OFFICE OF STATE PRINTER

The evening session of the Republican state convention, held at Sacramento on June 19, 1861, was reported in the *Appeal* by "B.":

> . . . I have not space to give the names of all the candidates, but will say that when the

> name of B. P. Avery, of Yuba, was announced, the Convention broke out into boisterous applause, which brought to their feet some of the friends of the other nominees, San Francisco and Sacramento job printers, who claimed that the nominee from Yuba was not a practical printer, and other clap-trap which was effectually answered by Messrs. Low and Rowe of Yuba, Sherman of San Francisco, McNabb of Sonoma, and Crocker of Sacramento. Frank Pixley, with genuine good-heartedness, forgave the castigation which he had received from the Appeal and seconded the nomination of Mr. Avery, which had been made by Mr. Rowe.[29]

The opposition to Avery on the ground that he was not a "practical" printer was quashed when the Democrats named a rival Marysville editor, John Rollin Ridge, the Republicans of the state thereupon accepting Avery with good grace. Editorially, Avery's *Appeal* discussed the Douglas-ticket nominees as follows:

> They are less obnoxious to criticism than those who preceded them, and some of them are absolutely unobjectionable. . . . The candidate for State Printer is John R. Ridge, renowned as the plucky and able editor of the National *Democrat* in this city, which paper was, under his control, by far the most conscientious and efficient Douglas journal ever published in California. Bro. Ridge is a man of varied and commanding talents, and will make as good a State Printer as the next man, practical or not practical. He has given proof of honesty, by sacrificing himself for years to be true to principle; and of patriotism, by conquering all the attachments and prejudices of section to be true to the Union. Since the ticket is bound to be beaten, we had rather some other man were in his place. [The people, the editorial continued, were to witness the strange sight of] the Douglas Democracy fighting for a name and spoils with the rallying cry of "the Union forever," and the Republicans echoing the same inspiring cry, but fighting besides to sustain the noble administration which has charge of the destinies of the Union.[30]

The elections in September 1861 carried Avery into office on the crest of a Republican landslide. Some provision had to be made for the *Appeal;* and, in October, announcement was made that the

> proprietors of the Marysville APPEAL and *National Democrat* have agreed to combine the two offices and henceforth issue only the APPEAL, which will appear on Tuesday next enlarged to the size of the *Democrat*, and taking the place of that journal to its subscribers. The two publishing firms of B. P. Avery & Co. and A. S. Randall & Co., will be united under the name and style of the "APPEAL ASSOCIATION." The paper will continue under the editorial control of B. P. Avery and Noah Brooks, retaining its individuality in all respects.[31]

This was followed shortly after by a certain item under "Vital Statistics" in the *Appeal* of November 28, 1861, stating that on the previous day—a day of national (as well as personal) thanksgiving, B. P. Avery and Mary A. Fuller had been united in marriage at Marysville. There was no story, and we know of Mrs. Avery only that she had been a schoolteacher in Marysville.

As to Avery's success in the office of state printer, the story can be told in terms of the misfortunes of that office after its creation in 1850. Under this act, the state printer was required to execute a $10,000 bond for "the skilful and faithful performance" of his duties.[32] Specifications for such "performance" were given; viz., "new and neat long primer type," each page 28 ems wide and 48 ems long, $7.30 per thousand ems; in Spanish or any language other than English, the amount soared to $14.60 per thousand. Press work was to be $7.30 "per token" or 250 impressions; binding (leather and gilt), for volumes not exceeding 300 pages, 1¾ cents per page; volumes of over 300 pages, 1¼ cents per page. Prices to be paid for folding and stitching were also given. The state printer's accounts were to be examined by the secretary of state and the comptroller who, says the act, "may call to their aid practical printers, whenever they are of opinion that the charges are incorrectly made."

In his report at the end of the year (Dec. 24, 1850), S. E. Woodworth, chairman of the committee on state printing in the California senate, mentioned the fact that the materials involved were "peculiar and expensive."[33] The reasons for this situation were given in detail by the first state printer, H. H. Robinson (elected to office by the legislature on January 10, 1850), in a communication to J. S. Bradford, chairman of the assembly's committee on printing.[34] He had been asked, he said, to reduce "prices now fixed by law." To effect this, Robinson explained, "we sent to the Atlantic States, at an early day, and, at a very heavy expense, brought out a large selection of presses and all the variety of materials essential in such business." He asked the committee's confidence in this, viz., that, as the law prohibits the secretary of state from leaving the state, but requires him to superintend the printing and read the proofs of the laws and journals, this stipulation compels the printing to be done in California. Hence, undoubtedly, the high rates established by the bill. Robinson knew that the work could be done more expeditiously and "infinitely better" in some one of the Atlantic cities than here. He asked the privilege of being made responsible for supervising it and promised to have it "completed at an early day, and in such a manner that the Art of Printing, even in this new State, shall not suffer depreciation, while every reasonable expectation of our people shall be gratified." Continuing, Robinson assured the committee that he could have it done at a rate of compensation "full one half less than the prices called for in the Printing Act." He would relinquish all claims and right "to one half, say, of the cost of said printing, and place it in the possession of the Comptroller, for him to be governed by when he comes to audit the bills."

Robinson resigned on May 4, 1850, and was succeeded as state printer by Jonas Winchester, an appointee of Gov. Peter H. Burnett. But the cost of running the office remained unsettled and was brought to the attention of the senate on February 7, 1851, by G. B. Tingley, who presented a communication, addressed to the committee, from A. W. Adams.[35] Adams favored printing by contract to the lowest bidder; he figured that it would save some $60,000 or $75,000 per annum. It would also, he said,

> banish from the capital of the State the numberless candidates who will annually visit the

> Halls of Legislation, and "bore" members as "gently as a sucking dove," soliciting their suffrages for this office. Many honorable men I know are now candidates for the station. . . . It is not individuals I war against: it is the office I wish to abolish, to prevent future scrambling and squandering of the public money.

Again the case for the other side was stated, this time by Robinson's successor, who pointed out that,

> were the payment for the public printing made in cash, the rates established by law are greatly beyond what a due regard for economy would at the present time justify; but large as are the rates, they have barely sufficed – under the embarrassing circumstances and difficulties occasioned by the payment of the high rates of interest for necessary advances – for labor and materials, and by the ruinous depreciation of the Warrants upon the Treasurer (in which only has payment been made), to remunerate him for the execution of State work. [Warrants had to be sacrificed at a discount of 40 to 50%.] It is alluded to here simply to show that, instead of the immense fortune which it has been thought the State Printer has accumulated from the proceeds of the public work, he has not yet realized a sufficient amount from the Treasury to meet the obligations already incurred in executing the same.[36]

On May 15, he said, manuscripts of the journals and part of the laws were sent to New York; they were in the hands of the printers the first week in July, and on August 26 a part (100 copies) was shipped across the Isthmus of Panama by Adams & Co.'s Express, arriving in San Francisco in October. Cost for transport across the isthmus was very heavy. "It would have been a compliance with the letter and spirit of his contract," Winchester told the committee, "had these books been shipped by the usual route but time prevented." Winchester resigned on March 28, 1851; Gov. John McDougal appointed James B. Devoe to fill the vacancy (March 31) but he too resigned (May 2, 1851), to make way for Eugene Casserly, elected by the legislature on May 1 of that year.

During the third (spring 1852) session of the assembly, two reports were offered by the committee on state printing. The majority advocated retention of the plan of electing a state printer, fixing the compensation "at fair and remunerating prices," and making this officer directly responsible to the legislature. The mass of testimony "from the older states," said the majority report, was in favor of such action; the alternative – to let out the public printing – exposed the work to speculation. The minority report, on the other hand, spoke of "the enormous prices heretofore paid for public printing, by which the financial condition of the State has become greatly embarrassed"; in the minority's opinion, the contract system would be "the most economical and satisfactory mode."[37]

On March 3, 1852, a resolution was introduced that a committee of three be chosen, to report to the assembly the minimum prices at which the public printing could be done, "by any press of this State," and what security could be furnished to the state "by the proposer of such minimum price." No extra cost to the state was to be allowed for binding, etc., and the work was to be completed in forty days from the day of adjournment.[38] A little less than two months later (April 29, 1852), the office of state printer was abolished, section two of the same act providing that the governor and comptroller were to give notice to two daily papers in San Francisco, Sacramento, and Stockton, that said two officials would receive sealed proposals and enter into contract for nine months with the lowest bidder, beginning May 1, 1852.[39]

The comptroller's report for the year ending June 30, 1852, showed an expenditure for state printing amounting to $159,845.77.[40] As before, no salary is stipulated for state printer, though such information appears opposite the names of the other state officials. Publication of the laws in newspapers accounted for $40,668.26 of the sum. The last item is enlightening in connection with Avery's comment eight years later, quoted above, that Botts expected to continue the weekly edition of the *Democratic Standard* from "his revenue as State Printer."

Institution of the contract system, awarded June 1, 1852, to George K. Fitch and Vincent Geiger, and in February 1853 to George Kerr & Co., lifted Casserly from office; but the new system was short lived, for on May 1, 1854, an act was passed re-creating the office of state printer, defining the duties and compensation thereof and making some changes in width of line for the journals and the statutes, etc.[41] The next year, a deficiency was pointed out by Comptroller Sam Bell in the appropriation for the printing office: $27,377.22 was due George Kerr & Co.; and $33,461.98 was due B. B. Redding, or a total of $60,839.20.[42]

By 1861, the charges allowed the state printer for composition in English had fallen to $1.00 per thousand ems; composition in Spanish, $1.50 per thousand ems; press work, per token of 240 sheets, $1.00; and this allowance shall, said the act, "include all the charge he shall make for the work well executed and delivered at the seat of government except only the cost of paper."[43]

The following year, on January 6, 1862, Benjamin P. Avery, elected on September 4, 1861, began his term as state printer. The season was wet in Sacramento — 8.637 inches of rain in December and 15.036 inches in January — so wet was it that the legislature departed for the salty site of San Francisco, to escape inundation by fresh water higher up. Deliberations were held in the Federal Building, opposite the Custom House (N.W. corner Sacramento and Battery streets).[44] Approved on April 10, 1862, was an act appropriating funds in payment of claims for transporting the legislature's property and appurtenances to the bay area; excepted, however, from transportation were the portraits of General Washington and John Augustus Sutter, "which were left at the Capitol."[45] This was followed on May 14, 1862, by an act to recompense Benjamin P. Avery in the sum of $1,262.85 for costs and damage sustained in removing the state printing office from the capital to San Francisco and back again during the thirteenth session.[46] (It might be noted here that the San Francisco *Directory* for that year shows 21 book and job printers, 7 power-press printers, and 5 firms dealing in printing materials.)

For the period December 14, 1861, to December 14, 1862, the state treasurer's report shows payments totaling $58,034.02 for "state printing and official advertisements"; translation of the laws into Spanish cost $2,000 more, or a total of $60,034.02[47] For the period December 15, 1862, to October 21, 1863, Avery's second and last year in office, the official figure is $38,128.68.[48] A dozen or so years later, Gov. William Irwin, addressing the twenty-second session of the legislature on April 1, 1878, went over the history of the public printer's office from the organization of the state to 1871-72, at which time the state established a printing office of its own, to be operated under the direction of a superintendent of state printing.[49] The change from the old system to the new took place, he said, in December 1875, and it was possible to compare the two-year period December 1873-December 1875, under the old system, when the cost of operation had been $168,961.71, with the two-year cost *since* 1875, viz., $92,210. Changes made thereafter in the conduct of the office and the quest for efficiency are beyond the scope of this paper; but it would appear, from treasury figures, that Avery's administration (Dec. 1861-Oct. 1863) had not indulged in any "squandering of the public money," as was charged (see above) some ten years earlier by Adams, or that "the financial condition of the State had become greatly embarrassed," a dictum of 1852.

In the spring of 1862, two letters were written: on April sixth, Lt. Gov. J. H. Chellis and four other state officials, including State-Printer Avery, addressed a query to Governor Stanford; on April ninth, Stanford replied.[50] Avery *et al* had asked for the governor's opinion as to whether the Republican state central committee could act in the matter of nominating a superintendent of public instruction, or whether it would be expedient to call a convention and thus, "as a necessary adjunct," obtain a declaration of the view taken by the party on the principles that were then competing "for ascendency in the public mind. . . ." They wanted this declaration to come from "the people." Avery and his co-signers hoped that the governor "might feel at liberty to favor us with your opinion as to which course would the more conduce to the public good." Of the signers, G. R. Warren was controller; J. F. Houghton, surveyor-general; and W. H. Weeks, the secretary-of-state, had been one of the campaign speakers, in the fall of 1860, for the election of Lincoln and was chosen messenger to convey the returns to Washington, D. C.

In his reply, Stanford said, in part,

> . . . I deem it necessary for a party, in order to preserve its organization, and conserve the interests of the people, to advance the standard of its principles with the advancing spirit of the age, which can alone be done by frequent counsels of those who are authorized to mould its doctrines in accordance with that spirit.

To him the Republican organization in California seemed to be the only available one at that time, "whereby the Union sentiment, which should not be dissipated among the conflicting interests of different and inefficient organizations, may have full expression." The Republican party's morale, he said, was "unimpaired." The Democratic organization, on the other hand, "as a medium for the expression of loyalty and devotion to the Union," was "out of the question": a qualification had, in fact, to be added to the party-title to show the loyal or the treasonable sympathies of the individual assuming the political designation of Democrat. Although Stanford advised that strict party organization be maintained, he recommended that the call for a convention be so broad as to invite the participation of all who, without consideration of past party proclivities, were loyal citizens.

Stanford's insistence on the Republican party as mouthpiece for Union sentiment made enemies. The special San Francisco correspondent for the Sacramento *Union*, writing to his paper a fortnight later (April 24, 1862), spoke of those "who want to rule or ruin the Union cause"; the petty chiefs, said the correspondent, "take the Governor at his word when he says all Union men ought to unite, and they blush for him when . . . he thrusts the name of his own party directly ahead of all his Union exhortations."

On June 17, 1862, a "Union State Convention" was convened in response to a call by the Republican state committee. It effected a permanent organization and nominated a Union man, John Swett, for superintendent of public instruction. Nothing was included in the platform, said the Sacramento *Union* of June 19, 1862, but the simple issue of Union and disunion:

> ... A majority of the delegates were members of the Republican party, but they cheerfully surrendered their organization and engaged zealously in the work of bringing together the loyal elements in the State.... So intent was the Union Convention upon the business before it, that the delegates seem to have entirely forgotten or designedly ignored the existence of the State Administration. It was not even inquired after ... a Union Convention owed no such allegiance to party or to a party governor.

Appointed to the committee on resolutions in the convention was B. P. Avery;[51] and when the committee, charged with the duty of selecting members for a state committee, made its report on June 18th, Avery's name appeared on the list as representing the tenth district. The story was different a year later. At the time of the June 18, 1863, Union State convention, the friends of Stanford were said to have been too confident about his renomination, with the result that when it was apparent he would lose, Stanford withdrew and candidate F. F. Low was nominated; former Lt. Gov. Chellis lost to T. N. Machin; and O. M. Clayes won over Avery for state printer; but J. F. Houghton, one of Avery's co-signers of the April 6, 1862, letter to Stanford, was renominated for surveyor-general.[52]

AVERY AND THE *BULLETIN*

During the succeeding 1863-64 session of the legislature, Avery acted as Sacramento correspondent for the San Francisco *Bulletin*, and when the session closed he was made the city editor. Shortly afterwards he became a leader-writer on the *Bulletin.*[53]

While Avery was Sacramento correspondent, the financing of the Central Pacific was one of the main topics in the news. His "Letter from Sacramento," dated January 23, 1864, appeared in the *Bulletin* two days later. It described the visit of a group of supervisors from San Francisco, whose purpose was to look over the railroad's affairs. Stanford, president of the Central Pacific, was not willing to have the books of the company examined by the supervisors' expert. As reported by Avery:

> He did not think it was proper; the books of every business firm contain matters which they would not like to have submitted to critical inspection for the purpose of a publication of the result. He was willing, however, to prepare a verified statement from the Company's books, embodying all the desired facts relative to the financial affairs of the Company, its assets and liabilities, and the condition and prospects of its work . . . the three Supervisors took an excursion over the line of the road. They found 12 miles of track laid, and the line mostly graded to a point within 3 miles of Auburn, about 32 miles from Sacramento. . . . They returned to the city [Sacramento] yesterday, and are now engaged in looking over the books and reports of the Company. . . . These gentlemen express themselves astonished at the amount and excellence of the work done on the road, which far exceeded their anticipations.

This cheerful letter brought denunciation upon Avery from the *Alta California* of January 30, 1864: he was called the *Bulletin's* "would be State Printer and re-lie-able Sacramento correspondent and lick-spittle and toady to ex-Governor Stanford"; the letter was in most particulars "known to be false when written. The Committee did not examine the books at all. . . ."

In its historical edition of June 3, 1893, the *Bulletin* reviewed the stand it had taken in the matter. Construction of the Central Pacific had been opposed, it said, by the California Navigation Co., Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express and others; consequently "capitalists were loth to invest in a railroad enterprise that was being antagonized by substantially all the corporate and money power in the State. . . . The *Bulletin*, among the influential newspapers of the day, was almost alone in this city [San Francisco] in its faith in the railroad enterprise."

The *Bulletin's* leader-writers did not sign their names to their columns, but certain characteristics of style and allusions are recognizable. For example, in the edition for June 3, 1865, appeared an account of the progress of art in the United States, which had been inspired by the opening to the public, for the first time (April 28), of the new building of the National Academy of Design in New York. William Cullen Bryant delivered the dedicatory address. Over 300 American artists exhibited, among them Bierstadt with his pictures of the Golden Gate and Yosemite Valley. The number of artists exhibiting, the account said, was much in contrast to the days when only twenty-five artists contributed to the exhibitions of the Academy, and their pictures were not so numerous as those in the California Art

Union of San Francisco, "a city then undreamed of, which has suddenly sprung up to glorify Art on the opposite shore of the continent!"

The following excerpts from a column in the *Bulletin* of Sept. 11, 1865, headed "A Law Library for San Francisco" and reporting the news that such a library was to be established in San Francisco, also give internal evidence of having been written by Avery: he quoted Samuel Johnson as having remarked that "The practice of law is the application of fixed principles to the ever varying accidents of human affairs." Continuing, Avery (presumably) said, ". . . it is of great consequence to know what difficulties have been experienced when old laws have been found insufficient to meet the spirit of the age, and how these difficulties have been met by legislation." Such a public institution would also,

> protect owners of large libraries from the annoyance of lending books, and the equally great annoyance of having them consulted on their own shelves, a practice which greatly infringes upon the privacy which every lawyer ought to enjoy. . . . It is believed . . . that $20,000 to $30,000 can be obtained for the capital of the Law Library, thus making it a permanent and successful institution.

PATRON OF THE ARTS

Avery's articles on art found place also in the *Overland Monthly*, to which, among others – including an old Marysville associate, Noah Brooks – he had given support at the time of its birth in Anton Roman's office.[54]

To Avery, art (drawing, painting, sculpture, and engraving) was the very germ of civilization. "Much sinewy growth and sturdy battling" preceded its blossoming; indeed, they were indispensable to it, especially if art were to be perennial. He wrote in this vein in "Art Beginnings on the Pacific," Volume I (July, and Aug. 1868) of the *Overland Monthly*, Bret Harte editor. San Francisco, Avery said, was the metropolis of the Pacific, ". . . where some day there will exist a distinct Art School, supported by a cultivated public taste, and where already there are more evidences of aesthetic culture than exist in any other community so isolated, so exposed to frontier influences, and so youthful."

John S. Hittell's article three years before (July 1863) in the *Pacific Monthly*, successor to the *Hesperian*, had given, said Avery, only a "sketchy account" of the most notable pictures and artists known in San Francisco at that time, but had not gone into antecedents. This Avery proceeded to do, calling Charles Nahl, though not first in time, "confessedly first in culture and ability of all the early resident artists." He was "at home in portraiture, in still life, in genre, in fruit and flowers, and in object painting. . . ." Besides Nahl among the "older artists," Avery mentioned Juan B. Wandesforde, Samuel Brooks, George H. Burgess. The newer names among exhibitors included F. Guttierez, William Keith, William Marple, H. G. Holdredge, and Ernest Narjot.

One of these newer names, William Keith, wrote from Dusseldorf on May

7, 1870, to Mr. and Mrs. Avery.[55] Keith had just returned from Paris where "all the time I was longing for your company. I saw so many things that would please you in the way of Pictures Books and other things that would just suit the Bird Cage on 3d Street [the Averys lived at No. 44]." Keith said he was "going to get rid of" the German style of painting, into which he had fallen, and the only way to do it was by studying nature. He wanted "to go down in Maine and study for a year." After that he proposed to return to California, "for I feel," he wrote,

> that it is my home I cant give you all my reasons for this but I am sure you would uphold me if you were here & had my experience I tell you Mr. Avery, that the schools are the places for machines of a higher class than they have with us: but a man who has the artistic instinct strong needs only nature. . . . this particularly applies to Landscape if I wanted to paint figures I should go to Paris. . . . I think that if you should see my last things and remembering the chances I have had that this is no sudden freak of conceit . . . you were the first to encourage me and I only ask your faith in me to hold on and you'll see that I am right on this. . . .
>
> Our kindest love and remembrances to Mrs. Avery. Yours truly, an old Californian by the name of Keith.

On February 2, 1871, Bret Harte left the *Overland Monthly* and departed for the east with an attractive (and accepted) offer from the *Atlantic Monthly* in his pocket.[56] Meanwhile, Avery had been continuing his work as leader-writer on the San Francisco *Bulletin* and as *Bulletin* correspondent in Washington, D.C.;[57] but he managed to continue his studies on art and his agitation for the founding of an art association. This was brought about in March 1871. In Edward Bosqui's *Memoirs* appears the statement, "it was to Mr. Avery, more than to any single member, that the association was indebted for its permanent establishment."[58] When one reads that the association's purpose was to promote painting, sculpture, and "the fine arts akin thereto," and if one compares this declaration with one of Avery's, viz., that (citing Thomas Huxley) the ascending order of creation is minerals, plants, animals, men who cannot draw, and artists, and that the "great distinction of humanity" is the ability to draw (a statement that was "more than a pleasantry"), the successful termination of his efforts for the founding of the art association must have given Avery great personal satisfaction.[59]

As secretary of the organization, Avery had the pleasure of acknowledging on November 28, 1873, the receipt of casts-from-the-antique (among them the Venus of Milo, Dying Gladiator, Apollo Belvedere), from the administration of President Thiers of France, for which Avery composed a descriptive catalogue, prefacing it by a brief history of Greek art.[60]

A larger demand on his talents was addressed to him on December 13, 1873, by E. C. Chick, manager of *The Aldine* (58 Maiden Lane, N. Y., then in its seventh year and calling itself "an illustrated monthly journal universally admitted to be the handsomest periodical in the world. A representative and champion of American taste").[61] Chick wrote: "Please write us for cash

2500 or 3000 words about Art in California. I know it will surprise our Eastern people to learn what I know about the interest taken in art matters in your sunny 'Sunset Land.' " In April of 1874 the article appeared. Avery reiterated his conviction that California scenery, the new forms of animal and plant life, the infusion of Iberian costume, architecture and character, together with infusions of many other nationalities, would, in a few years, lead to a distinctive local school of art, especially under "the bland climate which permits of comfortable out-of-door sketching for quite three hundred days in the year. . . ." To encourage its coming, a committee of the association, including Thomas Hill, Virgil Williams, Edward Bosqui, and Avery, planned the California School of Design, which, in February 1874, opened under the direction of Virgil Williams.

At the beginning of this paper, mention was made of the interest taken by the two sons of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Putnam Avery in matters of art. About a year before the San Francisco Art Association had perfected its organization, a charter was granted (April 1870) to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and among its founders was the elder of the two brothers, Samuel Putnam Avery, Jr. Information on his life can be found elsewhere, but the reader might be interested in knowing that his collection of engravings and etchings is one of the treasures of the New York Public Library, and that some 15,000 volumes on art and architecture were given to Columbia University in memory of his son, Henry O. Avery.[62]

Benjamin Parke Avery had been contemplating publication of his papers on art in book form. On September 30, 1873, however, a postponement was proposed by his friend, William Alvord, former president of the Pacific Rolling Mill and, at the time of his letter to Avery, mayor of San Francisco, who suggested that Avery defer publication until after his (Avery's) election as president of the art association "next summer"; it would benefit, Alvord thought, not only the sale of Avery's book but the association itself.[63] Half a month later (Nov. 18, 1873), came the following announcement in the *Daily Evening Post*, under the heading, NEWS ABOUT TOWN: "B. P. Avery has accepted the position of editor of the *Overland Magazine* [*sic*]."

AVERY AND THE *OVERLAND MONTHLY*

Three circumstances had contributed toward making it possible for Avery to accept the position of editor of the *Overland:* (1) Bartlett, who had been acting as editor and, at the same time, performing his work on the *Bulletin*, had been informed by Fitch, the *Bulletin's* publisher, that he must quit either the paper or the magazine: Bartlett quit the magazine.[64] (2) Avery's own relations with Fitch had become strained through championship of Bartlett.[65] (3) The condition of Avery's health was growing worse; a vacation in the mountains seemed to offer the best therapy.[66] Accordingly, in the summer of 1873, he resigned from the *Bulletin* and went after health in earnest. From his reference to a certain summit in San Francisco as a "delectable hill," one can estimate the intensity of his response to the Olympian Sierra, on which he enlarged in an article beginning "During a recent journey along the high Sierra. . . ." But he did not want an inferior descriptive hand to assume re-description. He warns against this in his *Californian Pictures in Prose and Verse*, stating that he omitted the Yosemite, the Big Trees, and the regions of the high Sierra lying in the southern part of the state because they had already been better described by J. D. Whitney, Clarence King, and John Muir and illustrated by scores of artists, and had "so become in a measure hackneyed."[67]

Among the congratulations Avery received when he began work on the *Overland* was the following, dated November 27, 1873, from Daniel Coit Gilman, president of the University of California, saying, in part, "I am rejoiced to know that you are better and at work, and especially that the Overland is in your hands. It could not be better cared for. . . ."[68] Another letter, dated two days later from New York, was addressed to John H. Carmany, then publisher of the *Overland* with editorial assistance, for a time, from William C. Bartlett of the *Bulletin:*

> I have just read in the Overland for December the announcement of Mr Avery's taking charge of the magazine. Let me at once congratulate you on so fortunate and wise a step. I am sure that the Overland under his direction will be amply worthy of its high repute and will be a credit to the literature of the country.
>
> Give Mr Avery my cordial regards and tell him that I am heartily glad that he has found a position so congenial and for which he is so admirably fitted.
>
> Yours truly Noah Brooks[69]

Gilman's letter had referred to Avery's improved health. The trouble was spoken of as "somewhat obscure, taking the form of rheumatic gout"; another version called it something "supposed to be neuralgia," but both agreed on the prostrating nature of the malady.[70]

In spite of his illness and his literary successes, certain friends were not deterred from saying that Avery's true field was politics. Only a day or two after news of the *Overland Monthly* editorship was circulated, the *Daily Transcript* (Nevada City) expressed their reaction to Avery as a compromise candidate for United States senator: ". . . Mr. Avery at one time was connected with the *Hydraulic Press*. He subsequently took a position in the *Bulletin* office at San Francisco as one of its editors. . . . It was his pen that gave the *Bulletin* its prestige and power. Mr. Avery is a forcible and logical writer, and a man of great learning and ability. He would make an honest Senator in our opinion."

The *Daily Evening Post* commented on the same subject on November 21, 1873:

> The *Nevada City Transcript* states that Benjamin Parke Avery has been mentioned as a compromise candidate for U. S. Senator, and says he would make an honest Senator. Mr. Avery would be so far removed from all rings, cabals and cliques, that we can hardly think politicians of either the Republicans or Independents would take him up. He was

> too honest to do the dirty work of the *Bulletin,* and we have no idea that some of the work to be done in obtaining the Senatorship is much cleaner. He would make an excellent selection, if the material prosperity of California was only considered, but that is probably a small matter in the minds of those who will dictate the choice.

Politics did, however, enter again into Avery's life but in a direction entirely different from the "east" of the federal capital.

His connection with the *Overland Monthly* lasted only six months but it was long enough to receive, to quote the *Overland* itself, "the approbation of the entire press, for his excellent literary taste, and for the experienced judgment with which he lost no opportunity of serving as well the material as the literary interests of the Pacific Coast."[71] Even with more time to think over his record on the *Overland,* critics have seemed to agree on what Franklin Walker, writing in 1939 in *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (p. 282), calls "the high educational standards maintained by Harte and Avery."

ENVOY TO CHINA

His return to public life was engineered by Senator-from-California Aaron Sargent, who brought to the attention of President Grant Avery's career and talents, as fitting him for the office of minister to China, a post recently vacated by F. F. Low (governor of California, 1863-67), and for the last seven years considered, said the *Alta California,* "as a perquisite of California."[72] (Low had been preceded in the office by J. Ross Browne.)

One friend, Stephen Powers, whose article, "The Northern California Indians," had run in the *Overland Monthly* through four volumes (VIII-XI, 1872-73), saw in the etiquette of the Chinese court a possible remedy for the new envoy's physical disabilities. On May 23, 1874, Powers wrote to Avery from Sheridan, Placer County:

> ... I wish you a pleasant voyage across the Pacific ... to the shores of the Celestial Empire and the throne of the Son of Heaven. Doubtless "the three Kneelings and the nine Knockings," if industriously engaged in, will have a beneficial, gymnastic effect on your health, which I hope may be restored to that degree which I enjoy here in the chaparral.[73]

Avery reached Tientsin on October 17, 1874. He died at his post in Peking on November 8, 1875. The canopy over his coffin in the main hall of the legation bore, in Chinese, the words, CHINA AND THE WEST MOURN TOGETHER.[74]

Why? What had he done to merit, at death, this concerted sorrow?

The day after his arrival in Tientsin (and before presenting his credentials in Peking), Avery was received at the yamen of Li-Hung-Chang — scholar, warrior, earl, viceroy of the metropolitan province of Chihli, and member of the grand council of the empire, who, early in his career, was entitled to wear the yellow jacket, and who more recently had been decorated with many-eyed peacock feathers. Avery was greeted with "a cordiality unusual in Chinese official intercourse."[75] As he had made a short stop in Japan on his way to China, he was sounded out by the viceroy on "the temper" of the

Japanese in the Formosan dispute, and was surprised at Li-Hung-Chang's "seeming candor and freedom." China, he was told, counted on the good offices of the United States in effecting a peaceable settlement under the first article of the Burlingame treaty, which China regarded as a better proof of friendship than she had received from any other nation. The viceroy then explained that China had offered to subdue the savages on Formosa (over which China claimed jurisdiction), and to compensate Japan in money for any proved losses of life and property at the savages' hands; furthermore, China would erect lights on the coasts for the guidance of mariners, but she would pay no indemnity for war expenses. Japan asserted she had earned the right to remain in Formosa by her subjugation of the savages. This, China refused to concede and accounted for her attitude thus:

> If, while declaring Formosa to be an integral part of the Empire, we have failed to subjugate the savages, that is no more than has happened with some American and European countries, who have maintained undisputed sovereignty over districts inhabited by savages whom they had never subjugated or brought under authority.

The next day, Li-Hung-Chang (attended by a large retinue which was motioned to retire) returned Avery's call and expressed again the wish of the Tsung-li-yamen, or foreign office at Peking, that the good offices of the United States be exerted in the dispute over Formosa. Avery's paraphrase of his response follows:

> Bearing in mind how essential my government has for some years deemed it for its ministers at Peking to cooperate cordially with those of the other treaty powers, on all general questions, and believing it unwise to seek for any selfish advantage, or to do anything which might savor of disingenuousness or bad faith towards my colleagues, I received the Viceroy's significant expression as if it had only a general application, suggesting, however, that China could better obtain any counsel she might require if she would frankly communicate to the ministers, in a joint circular, a statement of the present condition of the controversy with Japan, inviting, if it was desired, their views on the subject.

According to Avery's "Memoranda," China was anxious to avoid war because of the cost; also, it might give rise to domestic insurrections; other nations might interfere if their nationals were assailed during the confusion; and it might endanger the imperial dynasty. Nevertheless, Li-Hung-Chang was sure that the Chinese foreign office would not follow Avery's suggestion that it address the ministers of the other countries jointly; it distrusted the French and was convinced that the English were in league with Japan in exacting a heavy indemnity from China. Again the viceroy asked if Avery would communicate to his government in Washington China's plea for the good offices of the United States. He replied in the affirmative but informed Li-Hung-Chang:

> ... at the same time that I should furnish copies to my colleagues and advise them of the nature of my reply, adding an assurance that I thought he would find them equally disposed with the United States to act fairly and impartially between China and Japan. He

> seemed to be satisfied with my reply, and closed the interview . . . with even warmer expressions of esteem for the United States than he had used previously.

So much for Avery's and Li-Hung-Chang's exchange of views on international affairs. The second section of his "Memoranda" is given over to their conversation on the reported ill-treatment of the Chinese in California:

> . . . I admitted that, owing to competition of Chinese cheap labor with some of our own laborers, much feeling existed against them in certain communities, leading to occasional outrages; but explained that the same things had happened in the case of other foreign emigrants, and stated that our laws amply protected the Chinese . . . that the authorities are bound to take cognizance of any real grievances of theirs, that they can acquire and hold property on the same terms as our own citizens, can work our mines of precious metals without a royalty being exacted, on payment of a local tax, can freely travel, reside and do business anywhere without passports or other taxes than our own people pay, and can as freely exercise all the rites of their peculiar religion. . . . His surprise was great that our mines were open to individual enterprise, and that the government exacted no royalty. I remarked that our government found more profit in the settlement and development of the country by untrammeled private labor, which creates taxable wealth and reclaims savage regions, than it could derive from royalty or from working the mines itself.

Li-Hung-Chang said that though he, himself, was in favor of opening the mines of China, his country had to move slowly in this as well as in the introduction of railroads, telegraphs, labor-saving machinery, etc.: "Whatever novelty is proposed," said the viceroy, "is sure to be discussed by the people, who hear the objections of the literary class. These men are extremely conservative and jealous of changes which may tend to lessen their own importance. . . ." Then there was real danger, Li-Hung-Chang pointed out, in too-suddenly interfering with the usual employments of the people. It had been owing to him "that China had bought and manufactured steamships, cannon and guns, had erected arsenals and workshops, had sent numbers of Chinese yearly for several years past, to be educated at American colleges in western science. . . . He trusted that the practical operation of these things would do more to remove the prejudices of the people than any amount of argument." Avery then remarked that such changes must of course be left to China's "own time and way"; but he believed that improvements could be introduced more rapidly than at present "without the danger apprehended . . . they multiplied the sources of employment . . . and enlarged the revenues and power of the government." While the interview was in progress, the Californian was aware that he was in the presence of "the most bold and progressive mind in Chinese official life."

The new envoy and the seasoned viceroy touched on still another topic — the establishment of a Chinese consulate general in San Francisco with a consul in Portland, Oregon. Avery felt that as there were in the Pacific states some 60,000 Chinese, such an establishment "would serve as a useful medium of communication between his [the viceroy's] people and authorities, would prevent some imposition and injustice which cannot now be readily remedied, and would lead to a better understanding all around." This would include prevention of illicit features, which, in spite of the caution of United States officials at Hong Kong and San Francisco, attached to Chinese emigration. In his "Memoranda," Avery makes it clear that the suggestion was "not officially tendered, but invited by the Viceroy in the freedom of a conversation which seemed to aim at frank interchange of private views rather than at any official and public end." Li-Hung-Chang replied that he was emphatically favorable to a consulate in San Francisco and would petition his government on the subject.[76]

The official correspondence between Avery and the state department covers 184 pages (Nov. 12, 1874-Aug. 18, 1875) in the *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*.[77] They describe the outcome of the Formosan dispute; his audience with the Chinese emperor, T'ung-chi, the first week in December 1874; the Chinese-Japanese difficulty over Korea; railway building in China; telegraph lines; admission of Chinese to West Point; a review of the reign of the emperor (at the time of his death in January 1875) and also of the T'sing dynasty; the status of the Lew Chew Islands; relations between Sweden and Norway and China; the immigration laws; assaults upon American missionaries. As these documents are available in printed form (see above), the hand-written "Memoranda," covering his conference with the great viceroy, appear to have offered the most interest here, except (1) his analysis of the changes taking place in 1875 in China—of great importance to California—and (2) a letter to Avery from John L. Cadwalader, acting secretary of state, under date of August 14, 1875.

As regards (1), in Avery to Fish, Peking, July 16, 1875, Avery says:

> China is passing from the stage of obstinate resistance to that of tentative adoption with reference to foreign matters. It is also evident that the initiative of the new movement comes from those officials of the seaboard provinces who have been enlightened by more familiar contact with foreigners, and by their opportunities to observe the value of foreign arts and ways in certain particulars. The growing influence of these officials with the central government is manifest. . . . [A recent memorial] makes a good point in urging the necessity of China being represented abroad as a means for the better protection of her subjects in foreign countries. This is an argument that I have myself addressed to Li Hung Chang and the ministers of the Yamen on several occasions.[78]

Cadwalader's letter of August fourteenth reads as follows:

> Your dispatch No. 64, of the 12th June, inclosing a copy of correspondence with the Tsungli Yamen, relative to the emigration-laws of the United States, has been received.
>
> The Department approves the friendly spirit manifested by you in furnishing the information sought, and is convinced of the desirability of impressing on the Chinese government on all proper occasions the care taken by this Government to prevent wrong-doing and injury to Chinese as in the cooly-traffic, and the desire to freely receive and liberally treat honest Chinese emigrants.[79]

Avery's state papers show to what lengths he must have gone to perfect himself in oriental affairs. Taken in connection with the ravages of his illness, this attention to duty seems incredible. The saving grace of the situation was that he knew how to let his mind relax along lines he had found were pleasant – he went botanizing on the broad summit of the mouldering walls around Peking and enclosed some of the specimens in a letter dated July 5, 1875 (just four months before his death) to Robert E. C. Stearns of the California Academy of Sciences. But he was homesick, as he admits to Stearns in the same letter:

> Shut within the walls of our Legation, we are as much alone as if we were in one of the old glacial wombs of the Sierra Nevada – to think of which makes me sigh with longing, for was I not born anew therefrom, a recuperated child of Nature? Your letter with bay-leaves was right welcome, and gave me a good sniff of Berkeley. . . . O, California, that's the land for me.[80]

Would the plant-specimens from the Great Wall of China put up as good a fight in Avery's land as he did in theirs? He seems to have had no worries on that score; or he may have doubted that a struggle on their part would even be necessary.

NOTES

1. "Avery Genealogy," in *Prominent Families of New York* (New York, 1897); *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932), I, 445; and *In Memoriam, Benjamin Parke Avery*, ed. by J. S. Hittell (San Francisco, 1875), page v.

2. North San Juan *Hydraulic Press* (hereafter cited as *Hydraulic Press*), Oct. 9, 1858.

3. The firm of Rawdon, Wright, and Hatch. *Harper's Weekly*, XVIII (May 2, 1874), 375. See also *Editorials and Resolutions in Memory of Samuel Putnam Avery* (New York, 1905), *passim.*

4. Avery to Edwin F. Bean, Dec. 20, 1866, in *History and Directory of Nevada County* (Nevada, 1867), pp. 74-78.

5. Later the site of Nevada City.

6. *History and Directory of Nevada County, op. cit.*, p. 75.

7. Benjamin P. Avery, "Papers on Art" (in manuscript, General Library, University of California, Berkeley).

8. Avery's experiences in the Trinity Valley are recorded in *Californian Pictures in Prose and Verse* (New York, 1878), pp. 315-29. The volume is dedicated "To the Memory of Samuel Putnam Avery [Sr.], obit New York 1832."

9. Peter Tofft to Mrs. Avery, London, Oct. 12, 1876 (manuscript, in "Avery Collection; a series of letters written to Benjamin Parke Avery from 1868 to 1875." Presented by Mrs. Mary A. Avery to the Bancroft Library). Tofft reported the "London Art Exhibitions of 1873," *Overland Monthly*, XI (Aug. 1873), 162-71; also spelled Toft.

10. *In Memoriam . . ., op. cit.*, p. 21.

11. This advertisement appeared weekly in the *Hydraulic Press*, 1858-59.

12. Sacramento *Daily Union*, Dec. 25, 1858.

13. *Hydraulic Press*, Aug. 21, 1858. In looking back upon his newspaper purchase, Avery wrote to Edwin F. Bean: "How little I dreamed while on my foolish prospecting trip through the savage solitude of the middle Yuba that in eight years I should be publishing a newspaper for a populous and intelligent town in that very region; that carriers and expressmen would be scattering it where only the grizzly and wild cat roamed then . . ." (*History and Directory of Nevada County, op. cit.*, p. 78).

14. *Hydraulic Press*, Feb. 12, 1859.

15. *Ibid.*, Oct. 30, 1858.

16. *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1858

17. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1859.

18. *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1859.

19. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1859.

20. *Ibid.*, Sept. 3, 1859.

21. *Ibid.*, same issue.

22. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1860.

23. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1860.

24. Marysville *Daily Appeal* (hereafter cited as *Appeal*), June 3, 1860.

25. *Ibid.*, same issue.

26. *Ibid.*, same issue.

27. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1860.

28. *Ibid.*, June 16, 1860.

29. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1861.

30. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1861. Under the pseudonym, "Yellow Bird," John Rollin Ridge wrote the *Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit* (San Francisco, 1854).

31. *Appeal*, Oct. 27, 1861. For changes in the *Appeal's* management, etc., 1862-73, see *History of Yuba County* (Oakland, 1879), p. 74.

32. *Cal. Statutes*, 1st sess., 1849-50, pp. 45, 83 ff. A chronological list of the state printers is included in the *California Blue Book, or State Roster for 1893*, compiled by E. G. Waite, p. 258.

33. *Sen. Journal*, 1st sess., 1849-50, pp. 541-42. E. K. Chamberlin, senator from San Diego, opposed fixing the state printer's compensation without exact knowledge of what his expenses would be (*idem*, pp. 406-407). Commercial printers were also harried: J. M. Parker, in a prefatory note "To Our Patrons," San Francisco *Directory*, 1852-53, refers to the "well known scarcity of paper," in apologizing for delay in publication.

34. *Sen. Journal*, 1st sess., 1849-50, pp. 561-62 (Apr. 4, 1850). To what presses Robinson referred, specifically, when he said in his communication to Bradford "... we sent to the Atlantic States, at an early day, and ... brought out a large selection of presses ...," is not explained. Were they delivered in San Jose (the place of publication indicated, for example, on the *Journals* of that year)? *Cf.* note 36 below. *See also* "Annals of the Pacific Press," the *Pioneer*, IV (Oct. 1855), p. 241; E. C. Kemble's "A History of California Newspapers," Sacramento *Daily Union*, Dec. 25, 1858 (reprinted in 1927 in New York, D. C. McMurtrie, ed.; especially pp. 4, 61, 66-67); and McMurtrie's "An Introduction and Supplement to a 'History of California Newspapers,'" this Quarterly, VII (1928), 277-81; also, Henry R. Wagner, "Commercial Printers of San Francisco from 1851 to 1880," *Papers*, Bibliographical Soc. of Am., XXXIII (1939), re-paged separate, p. 2.

35. *Sen. Journal*, 2d sess., 1851, pp. 705 ff (Feb. 7, 1851).

36. *Assem. Journal*, 2d sess., 1851, pp. 873 ff (Jan. 11, 1851). J. Winchester's name appears as state printer on the title-page of the *Statutes* for 1850, San Jose, but we know from his testimony that the printing was done in New York. (*Cf.* note 34 above.) After receiving Winchester's report, J. W. McCorkle offered a resolution "that the thanks of this House be and are hereby tendered to the State Printer for his liberality." It appears that a specimen copy of the *Journal* had been given to each member of the Assembly "from surplus copies struck off to supply any damage that might happen to the State edition, in transportation across the Isthmus during the rainy season." (*Ibid.*, pp. 1116-17.)

37. *Ibid.*, 3d sess., 1852, pp. 210-13.

38. *Ibid.*, same sess., p. 264.

39. *Compiled Laws* [amended sections removed and sections, as amended, inserted] *of the State of California*, S. Garfielde and F. A. Snyder, compilers (Benicia: S. Garfielde, 1853), pp. 348-52. Benicia was then (1853) serving as the center of state government, whose constant peripateticism is described in Bancroft's *History of California*, VI, 321-25. The volume, *Compiled Laws*, was printed in Boston by Franklin Printing House. Nathaniel Bennett's *Reports of Cases, Supreme Court of California*, was issued two years before (1851), Eugene Casserly, state printer, the printing being done by "S. W. Bene-

dict's Power Presses"—evidently an eastern firm; San Francisco agents were Marvin & Hitchcock; New York agents, Charles B. Norton, and also John S. Voorhies. *California Digest, Decisions of the Supreme Court of California,* which appeared in 1856, was printed in Sacramento by H. S. Crocker and Anderson Edwards. Three years later (1859) came volume I of the *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Districts of California,* Cutler McAllister, reporter (New York: John S. Voorhies, law bookseller and publisher), Baker & Godwin printers, New York.

40. *Sen. Journal,* 4th sess., 1853, App. 1, p. 13.

41. *Cal. Statutes,* 5th sess., 1854, pp. 33-36; also tables showing receipts and expenditures, 4th fiscal year, in final section of volume: expenditure for printing, $185,532.19. For rise of printers' protective organization in Oct. 1851, *see* D. C. McMurtrie, *The Pacific Typographical Society and the Gold Rush of 1849* (Chicago, 1928), pp. 8-9; and the "Pacific Typographical Society and the Alta California," *Alta California,* Oct. 28, 1853.

42. *Sen. Journal,* 6th sess., 1855, p. 120. (*Comptroller* is frequently spelled *Controller* in the state documents.)

43. *Cal. Statutes,* 1861, p. 279. *Ibid.,* p. 540, provides for 300 copies of the annual reports of the Supreme Court at $2000 per volume.

44. Rainfall figures are taken from the annual report of the surveyor-general for year ending Dec. 15, 1862, p. 49. State funds for transportation of appurtenances of the legislature to San Francisco, and for "fitting up apartments for the same," were made available in *Cal. Statutes,* 1862, pp. 238-39. The *Alta California,* Jan. 25, 1862, said that "the Chambers, formerly occupied by the Federal judiciary, with a little alteration," would be "sufficiently commodious for both branches. . . ."

45. *Sen. Journal,* 14th sess., 1863, p. 126.

46. *Cal. Statutes,* 1862, p. 535.

47. *App. to Journals of Sen. and Assem.,* 14th sess. (Sacramento, 1863), App. B, p. 10. The expenditure for printing for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1860, had amounted to $49,639.67, Charles T. Botts, state printer (*ibid.,* 12 sess., Sacramento, 1861, annual report controller, p. 12).

48. *Ibid.,* 15th sess., App. A, pp. 9-10. State Treasurer D. R. Ashley assumed office on Jan. 6, 1862; he resigned Oct. 5, 1863, and the new treasurer, Romualdo Pacheco, did not take over until Dec. 5, 1863 (*Calif. Blue Book for 1893,* p. 254). Hence the shortened period covered by the treasurer's figures, and hence, too, the ineptness in attempting to compare printing expenses as between Avery's first and his second year in office. The controller's figures are not applicable, as his reports are made on a fiscal basis. In *Cal. Statutes,* 14th sess., 1863, p. 572, payment was provided for Avery's claim, in the sum of $1258.42, for printing the muster-rolls of the 1st, 2d, and 6th brigades, California militia. The increase in amount of work done, for example, in 1863, compared with the volume in 1854, may be illustrated by taking one item, only, viz., the *Statutes,* which, in 1854, required 230 + xvii + 6 pages; in 1863, xlviii + 831 pages. As for the *State Register* [data on the government of California] *and California State Almanac for 1863,* it was published by Henry G. Langley and advertised by him in his 1862 *Directory.*

49. Gov. William Irwin's message appears in *Assem. Journal,* 22d sess., 1878, p. 37. *Cal. Statutes,* 19th sess., 1871-72, pp. 554-57, gives transcript of the act, in fifteen sections (approved March 26, 1872), creating the office of superintendent of state printing.

50. *Alta California,* April 6, 9, 26-28, 1862; also George T. Clark, *Leland Stanford* (Stanford Univ., 1931), pp. 145-48.

51. *Alta California,* June 19, 1862.

52. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California* (Sacramento: Publs. Calif. State Library, No. 1, 1893), p. 195.

53. San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, June 3, 1893. Avery succeeded Franklin Tuthill as leader writer. As pointed out below in the text, *Bulletin* writers carried on under anonymity. However, there was partial recognition, based on variation in sex, viz., "This Afternoon's [or Last Night's] Despatches" (foreign and/or Washington intelligence), blanketed; but "Letter from Paris," sub-headed "From Our Lady Correspondent."

54. Anton Roman, "The Beginnings of the *Overland Monthly*," *Overland Monthly* (new ser.), XXXII (July 1898), 73.

55. In Avery Collection, as in note 9 above.

56. *Alta California*, Feb. 2, 1871; George R. Stewart, *Bret Harte, Argonaut and Exile* (Boston & New York, 1931), p. 197.

57. *Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 1, 1875. A portrait of Avery is reproduced in the special historical edition of June 3, 1893 (note 53 above). In 1873, the *Bulletin* suspended its morning, but continued its evening, weekly, and overland, editions.

58. Edward Bosqui, *Memoirs* (San Francisco, 1904), pp. 281 ff.

59. First constitution of the San Francisco Art Association, Art. 1, Sec. 2 (repeated in the San Francisco *Directory*, 1880-81, p. 1133); Avery's "Art in California," reprint from *The Aldine* (n.d.), among papers cited in note 7 above.

60. Bosqui, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

61. "Prospectus" (for 1874) of *The Aldine*. *See* note 59 above.

62. *Editorials and Resolutions in Memory of Samuel Putnam Avery* (as in note 3 above); *Dictionary of American Biography, loc. cit.*; New York City Public Library, *A Handbook of the Samuel Putnam Avery Collection of Prints and Art Books in the New York Public Library* (New York, 1901).

63. "Collection of Letters to the Editor of the *Overland Monthly*," hereafter cited as *Overland Letters* (in manuscript, General Library, University of California, Berkeley).

64. George K. Fitch to James W. Simonton, San Francisco, May 12, 1871 (manuscript, Fitch Collection, Bancroft Library). W. C. Bartlett contributed "Locusts and Wild Honey" to Vol. I (Nov. 1868) of the *Overland*, pp. 461 ff.

65. Fitch's opinion of Avery was voiced in his letter of May twelfth to Simonton: "Among all our men there are but three that are fairly competent: Avery, [Samuel] Williams, and Bartlett. Avery and Williams are the best, but neither of them is very healthy."

66. *See* Avery's "Mountain, Lake, and Valley," *Overland Monthly* (Dec. 1868), pp. 540-52, especially p. 541; the *Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 1, 1875, mentions his search for health in the mountains.

67. *Californian Pictures*, as in note 8 above, pp. 9-11. The "delectable hill" is, of course, Nob Hill (*ibid.*, p. 244). For his "recent journey," *see* Dec. 1873 *Overland*.

68. *Overland Letters* (as in note 63 above).

69. *Idem.*

70. *Evening Bulletin*, Dec. 1, 1875; Bosqui, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

71. *Overland Monthly*, XIII (Sept. 1874), 281. When editor of the *Overland*, Avery was asked by the author of the *Native Races of the Pacific States* for his opinion on same. To use author Bancroft's own words: "I invited a number of men eminent in their several callings, and in whom the public had confidence, to inspect my work and report." As printed in Bancroft's circular on the *Native Races*, Avery's comment was said to have been: "He has done more than any public society would have done for fifty years to come and what, perhaps, no society could do at any later period." *Literary Industries* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 313.

72. *Alta California*, April 9, 1874; *ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1875.

73. Avery Collection, as above. Stephen Powers' nine-page article, "Picking Historical Marrow Bones," had appeared in the *Overland Monthly*, VI (March 1871), 271-79.

74. Dr. Martin, Avery's physician in Peking, to the *Evening Bulletin*, Nov. 14, 1875 (transcribed in *In Memoriam*, *op. cit.*, p. 9).

According to the *Alta* of Dec. 2, 1875, "There is no exaggeration in saying that we have had very few men in San Francisco who had a stronger hold on the respect and the affection of his intimate acquaintances than Mr. Avery." Hittell, in his "Introductory Note" to *In Memoriam* . . . (as above in note 1), said that the volume was written because each collaborator wished to have a keepsake to remind him of "the rarely exceptional character of his friend, whose memory is a stimulus of every just and noble purpose."

75. "Memoranda of Interviews with Li-Hung-Chang 1874" (manuscript, General Library, University of California, Berkeley). Avery's use of hyphens in spelling Li Hung Chang's name has been followed throughout; the "Lew Chew" island group is usually rendered Liu Chiu on modern maps.

76. The first *Directory* entry of a Chinese consulate in San Francisco occurs in the edition for the year commencing April 1879, p. 965; Chen Shu Tang, consul general; F. A. Bee, consul; Sit Ming Cook, vice consul, 917 Clay st. For events showing sentiment in favor of, and/or opposed to, the Chinese in San Francisco, 1868-1880, see *Historical Abstract of San Francisco*, prepared and published by Oscar T. Shuck (San Francisco, 1897), I, 43 ff, under "Chinese." No mention is made of the opening of a Chinese consulate, but the arrival of the Chinese embassy is noted for March 31, 1868, and again on July 26, 1878.

77. 44th Cong., 1st sess., *H. Ex. Doc. 1* (Ser. no. 1672).

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

80. "Remarks of Robert E. C. Stearns and Resolutions of the California Academy of Sciences on the Death of Benjamin Parke Avery," *Pamphlets on California Biography*, II, 4-5 (Bancroft Library).

Kipling's San Francisco Debut

By Irving McKee

IN literary history there is scarcely a parallel to the emergence of Rudyard Kipling in 1890, in London, when, unknown and twenty-four, he introduced himself with no fewer than nine freshly printed volumes – verse, short stories, a novel. In New York, at the same time, two other collections appeared.[1] But an earlier, abortive debut of Kipling's – his first literary appearance in the western world (leaving aside certain juvenilia in a schoolboy magazine) – draws no mention in the autobiography, the biographies, nor the bibliographies; a few of the circumstances are presented, obliquely, in his *American Notes* and *Something of Myself.*

Kipling had left India, after "seven years' hard" on Anglo-Indian newspapers, early in 1889. He had given up an assistant editorship of the Allahabad *Pioneer* (8,400 rupees a year), but had in pocket a six-month advance, to be earned by travel correspondence, plus £250 for the publication, in India the previous year, of *Plain Tales* and six smaller story books. The first three Mulvaney stories earned him an interview with Lord Roberts, C.-in-C., who asked what the enlisted men thought of their lot; informed, he thanked the young writer "as gravely as though I had been a full Colonel."[2] Samples of Kipling's works, dispatched by admirers to London, had been frigidly received. But now he himself was headed for the world's capital, via China, Japan, and the United States, and his luggage contained divers manuscripts, the seven story books, and *Departmental Ditties,* printed at Lahore in 1886. He was twenty-three and unmarried.[3]

"Mr. Kipling evidently went to America," said Andrew Lang, "with the conviction down deep in his soul, 'How clever I am, and how funny everyone else is.' "[4] The only major products he found good were Bret Harte, Mark Twain, and the American girl.[5] One can perhaps forgive superciliousness in a clever Briton of twenty-three, especially in 1889, for this was the time of a headlined tension between England and America over harbor rights in Samoa.

Young Kipling's steamer, eighteen days out of Yokohama, docked at San Francisco the afternoon of May 28. "Then a reporter," he said, "leaped aboard, and ere I could gasp held me in his toils. He pumped me exhaustively while I was getting ashore, demanding of all things in the world, news about Indian journalism."[6] But the only reference discoverable in the next day's (May 29, 1889) local papers was this in the *Chronicle,* plus substantially the same in the *Examiner:*

> Among the cabin passengers on the City of Peking was R. Kipling, the traveling correspondent of the *Pioneer* of Allahabat [*sic*], Northwest India. Mr. Kipling is also connected with the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahose [*sic*]. He will spend about six months in the United States and will then proceed to England.

Evidently he had been "pumped" in vain. Ashore, he registered a different complaint in his notebook: "No man rose to tell me what were the lions of this place. No one volunteered any sort of conveyance. I was absolutely alone in this big city of white folk."[7] What could he have expected? At the Palace Hotel reporters again appear, and are harshly treated (in the *Notes*):

> A reporter asked me what I thought of the city and I made answer suavely that it was hallowed ground to me because of Bret Harte. That was true. "Well," said the reporter, "Bret Harte claims California, but California don't claim Bret Harte. He's been so long in England he's quite English." . . . another reporter grappled me. . . . "Have you got reporters anything like our reporters on Indian newspapers?" "We have not," I said, and suppressed the "thank God" rising to my lips. "Why haven't you?" said he. "Because they would die," I said. It was exactly like talking to a child. . . . The man made me out an idiot several times more driveling than my destiny intended.[8]

This was not all invention. On June second, five days after Kipling's arrival, the two leading dailies gave him considerable space, for which he supplied the data about Anglo-Indian journalism that he had used in "The Man Who Would Be King." But there was no hint that he had published tales and verses, and had more for sale.

According to the *Chronicle* of June 2, 1889:

> "Your city delights me and the climate is positively enchanting."
>
> The gentleman who made this remark to a Chronicle reporter was Rudyard Kipling. . . . Mr. Kipling is touring the world on a six months' pleasure trip.
>
> "What I have seen of American journalism and of the American daily is so utterly different from any school that I am struck with wonder," continued Mr. Kipling, folding up a copy of the Chronicle and putting it in his pocket. "With us in India newspaper work is essentially different from American or English standards. Take our paper, the Allahabad *Pioneer*, for instance. . . . Our telegraphic matter comes mainly from the Indian seat of government at Calcutta, or in the hot months from Simla, a place 7000 feet in altitude and 1100 miles from Calcutta. Then, at certain seasons of the year, the Viceroy and his suite make tours of inspection over the country. Our correspondents, of course, are in constant attendance, and every movement of Government officials or their action is telegraphed daily to us. Our local news is comparatively limited. The ubiquitous reporter is unknown with us. It is too hot for one thing. . . . The pressmen earn the princely sum of 8 cents a day, while the native compositors are yours body and soul at from $5 to $8 a month. They know the English characters and read the language, but set the type not understanding what the copy says. Our daily circulation is between 6000 and 10000, and the paper goes all over India, three mails being dispatched nightly. Of course, our subscribers and readers are scattered all over the country, and where the railroad does not penetrate the papers are transferred to mail carts; and, way in the jungles and interior, are carried by naked native runners who make marvelously rapid time over great distances. . . ."

And the *Examiner* of the same date said that, on the previous night at the Palace Hotel, Kipling had given one of their representatives a most interesting story about journalism in India:

> [The *Pioneer*] has a great field and is the most influential daily in Northwest India. . . . The papers pay well. . . . Of the 200,000 English population in India, among a total of 250,000,000 natives and half castes, there are hardly any who are not patrons of the press.

> . . . In India, owing to frequent cyclones, simoons and floods, we pay a great deal of attention to the weather. . . . We had a hail-storm last year that killed 250 people in an open field. The hail stones were actually as big as hen's eggs.
>
> Besides this come the reports of the races which are taken in full. . . . You can send a dispatch from Bombay to Asam, over 2,000 miles, for about a cent a word. The operators are all native and half castes, and they are very good ones, too.
>
> An editor in India has a hard time of it until he gets acclimated, or salted, as we call it, and it takes from one to two years to do that. The thermometer from March to October during the day hovers at about 116 in the shade. . . .
>
> If he drinks he will drink the national drink there called the *peg*. This consists of a little whisky in soda nine inches high, with ice. . . . Editors of first-class papers get from £1,000 to £1,500 a year. . . .

Much of this was reprinted in the San Francisco *Argonaut*.[9]

By now Kipling was an honorary member of the Bohemian Club, fraternizing with solvent artists, writers, and patrons.[10] He appeared at a dinner there, on June fifth, to Lieut. James W. Carlin, U.S.N., another member; Lieutenant Carlin was momentarily famous for gallantry at Samoa during a hurricane which had scattered the militant naval forces of three nations.[11] The affair was appropriately patriotic and sentimental, with an abundance of toasts and responses. Said the *Notes:*

> They bore me to a banquet in honour of a brave Lieutenant—Carlin, of the "Vandalia"—who stuck by his ship in the great cyclone at Apia and comported himself as an officer should. . . . There were about forty speeches delivered; and not one of them was average or ordinary. It was my first introduction to the American Eagle screaming for all it was worth. . . . America is a very great country, but it is not yet Heaven with electric lights and plush fittings, as the speakers professed to believe.[12]

Perhaps revelant was the neglect of the papers, in their accounts next morning, to mention an editor (and author) from India.

But a two-column spread enlivened the *Examiner* of Sunday, June ninth. He was spoken of as "scarcely over thirty" (Kipling was actually twenty-three; doubtlessly misleading were the profuse black mustache and general hirsuteness). The interview evoked lore of reptiles, elephants and tigers, soon to beguile the world in "Moti Guj—Mutineer," "In Flood Time," the *Jungle Books*, and other works.

> . . . There is no portion of the world where there are so many poisonous reptiles . . . cobras and karaiets [*sic*] . . . every morning as I go to put on my boots here at the Palace, I instinctively hurl them across the room to shake them up, and dislodge any snakes that may be in them. . . . The death roll from snake bites there is estimated at 20,000. . . . They [the kraits] come into the houses, as do the cobras, but many of the former are so small that they secrete themselves in out-of-the-way nooks and get in their work when least expected. They give no warning. The cobra bites from a spring. This wriggles like a little worm. I never knew a man to recover. . . .
>
> I had a friend in India who, according to the custom, had fans in his house. . . . One day, when we were at lunch, the natives gave them a violent twitch and a lot of these kareits [*sic*] rained down . . . there was a scrambling to get out of there. . . .
>
> A friend of mine in Bengal, in the military service, who was a bachelor, one day invited a friend to dinner. . . . Half an hour passed and my friend said: "Well, I wonder

what's the matter with that beastly cook. He's quite late...." Why, above the door, with his head swinging from side to side through the transom, was a gigantic cobra....

A doctor in the army there had one that he had half tamed as a monstrous curiosity. He was exhibiting it one day to some friends when it bit him on the finger. He was an expert, and his remedies were right at hand. He instantly applied them and got over it....

One of my associates ... one day brought in a kaireit in a bottle and was exhibiting it to the members. "It is dead," said he, and he thought it was, for it was all broken in pieces. All at once the head began to wriggle and bounce around. ... You may guess there was a scampering....

You see a royal Bengal tiger in America or England, and you can tell it right off, but you see it there and someway its stripes do not stand out, and it springs upon you unawares....

In the Himalayas there are bears, there are also plains bears.... The bears get into the open fields and eat poppy and get drunk. A bear wakened out of his sleep under such circumstances is in a bad temper....

The man-eater is nothing but an old tiger, usually a female, that can no longer catch deer or other wild animals. Man is the easiest thing to catch there is. ... Sometimes a single man-eater is responsible for as many as 200 deaths....

By the way, did you ever see an elephant fight? ... Two big *must* elephants are chosen.... A tinseled mahout is seated on the howdah of each as the monstrous beasts stride into the arena....

An elephant that has to be whipped is never whipped by his owner or mahout but always by two other elephants. They are given a big piece of steel chain several feet long....

The average Indian native goes hungry in order to keep his elephant. ... I have seen princes and kings spending £250 a year to keep a white elephant. Kings are plenty in India. White elephants are not. I have seen a dozen kings at one time waiting at a railroad station for a Lieutenant Governor.... Without his elephant a king is nowhere. Oftentimes you see silver spoons and knives entwined in the earrings of the great beasts, and sometimes the howdah is trimmed with pure gold.

But I have omitted – as did the reporters – the climax, the formal debut of Rudyard Kipling as author in America. The San Francisco *Breeder and Sportsman*, of June 8, 1889, published a story of his called "The Broken-Link Handicap." (*Breeder and Sportsman* was a slender weekly of presumably limited circulation, destined to survive thirty years more.) The editor had kind introductory words for the new writer:

Owing to the favor of Rudyard Kiplin [*sic*], the well known journalist and author, who is just returning from a seven years trip in India, we are able to give some slight idea of racing and the way it is conducted in India....

Mr. Kipling tells many good stories of life in India, one of his best being a brochure which appeared in a volume entitled "Plain Talks [*sic*] From the Hills" published in Calcutta last year....[13]

"The Broken-Link Handicap" followed in its entirety.

Young Kipling shook the dust of San Francisco from his boots ten days after landing, to explore the settlements and sights of Tacoma, Seattle, Yellowstone, Salt Lake, Denver, Omaha, Chicago. He found little to please him, according to the *Notes*, until his meeting with Mark Twain at Elmira. In

New York he encountered, at the hands of Harper's, the classic snub: "This firm is devoted to the publication of literature." (But in 1890 Harper's issued *The Courting of Dinah Shadd.*) Less hospitable than San Francisco's Bohemians, Philadelphia's University Club ignored an application for club privileges.[14] The only other pieces sold in America — on this trip — were, apparently, "The Ballad of the King's Mercy" and "The Ballad of East and West."[15] Publication of the *Notes* in '91 stung sensitive Americans, including Bohemians; in retaliation the San Francisco *Wave* remarked on separate occasions:

> Mr. Rudyard Kipling is said to be a very young man and this is probably true, and he evidently has not yet had time to acquire the good manners and good taste, which, in his case were apparently not hereditary.[16]
>
> Kiplingism, my London correspondent informs me, is on the wane, and the lovers of that highly imaginative young man are seeking other gods to worship. He has had his day, which was short but bright.[17]

Kipling sailed from New York, September 22, 1889. His triumph of 1890 in London was a conclusive reply to the American reception of the preceding year.[18] In 1935, writing *Something of Myself*,[19] he called it quits by omitting all mention of American culture as of 1889.

NOTES

1. Flora V. Livingston, *A Bibliography of the Works of Rudyard Kipling* (New York, 1927), *passim.*
2. Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself* (New York, 1937), pp. 63, 74, 80-81.
3. Hilton Brown, *Rudyard Kipling* (London, 1945), pp. 34-37.
4. Quoted in Kipling, *American Notes* (Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Co. [1891]), p. 180. This is a pirated edition, the authorized edition having appeared in New York the same year.
5. Kipling did, in fact, marry one. Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-87.
6. *American Notes*, pp. 4-5.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10, 15.
9. *Argonaut*, XXIV (June 10, 1889), 10.
10. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
11. San Francisco *Chronicle*, June 6, 1889; San Francisco *Call*, Jan. 4, 1900.
12. *American Notes*, pp. 51-55.
13. *Breeder and Sportsman*, XIV (June 8, 1889), 372.
14. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
15. New York *Tribune*, Nov. 10 and Dec. 15, 1889.
16. *Wave*, VI (Feb. 21, 1891), 11.
17. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1891, p. 8.
18. Livingston, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
19. *Something of Myself*, p. 3.

Bear Flag Lieutenant

The Life Story of Henry L. Ford (1822-1860), with Some Related and Contemporary Art of Alexander Edouart

By Fred B. Rogers

(Concluded)

VI. THE WILSONS *(Continued)*

Because of the unusually heavy rains and floods, the land route to Sacramento was practically impassable. Henry Ford obtained an "open yawl" and piloted the Wilsons down the river to Sacramento City, where they arrived about December fifth and stayed for several days at the City Hotel of Fowler and Frye.[217] The *Alta California* noted that "General Wilson and his interesting family" arrived at San Francisco on the *Senator* December 8, 1849.[218] Thus was completed what may have been the most expensive overland journey of the time by a government official.[219]

Lacking household goods, the Wilsons first put up at a hotel which was a "gambling hell" with the added discomfort of a leaky roof and fleas. Later they moved to the St. Francis, "a genteel place," thus avoiding all but the fleas. This four-story hotel at the southwest corner of Clay and Dupont streets was described as "the only hotel at present where respectable ladies are taken in." The manager, Robert A. Parker, gave parties at the hotel about once a month. A woman reporter was present and, for a monthly fee of $100, wrote of these and other social events for New Orleans newspapers, which the Missouri friends of the Wilsons could read and learn of San Francisco society. Susan and Mary Eliza enjoyed the experience, for Mrs. Wilson wrote: "My daughters are boarders and like all young persons they want to be in society. In San Francisco I would as soon think of having their heads taken off as going anywhere without me, so that I am forced to go a good deal more than I have any desire."[220]

Regardless of this competition, Henry Ford occasionally came to town from his ranch and pressed his claim for Susan—finally with success—for the Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Willey entered in his diary, "On the first day Sept. 1851 I united Mr. Henry Ford and Miss Susan Wilson in marriage."[221] It is not recorded whether Susan and Henry had a church wedding, but if so it was probably held at the newly built Howard Presbyterian Church, Natoma and Jane streets, which had been dedicated June 15, 1851, by its pastor, Dr. Willey.[222]

It was also in 1851 that Captain Ford, at the request of Dr. Willey, wrote a manuscript narrative of the Bear Flag revolt and gave it to Willey, who noted thereon that Ford kept a record of events. The narrative was turned over to H. H. Bancroft by Willey and is preserved in the Bancroft Library, but assiduous search has failed to locate the slightest trace of the record of events. Exception has been taken to some statements and dates in the Ford manuscript, but on the whole it is and will continue to be one of the most reliable, comprehensive, and frequently consulted accounts relating to its subject.

Many years later, in commenting on Ford's manuscript at the request of Dr. Willey, John Bidwell said that he knew Ford very well, having met him at Sutter's Fort in 1844. Bidwell continued:

> While I am certain to differ with Captain Ford in some things, I attribute to him no intention to pervert the truth. He was earnest and sincere in his views; at the same time he was headstrong, and at times even to blindness. If he understood a thing in one way, he was intolerant to any other view of the same thing. He was never guilty of dissimulation, and therefore if he ever erred by tenaciously clinging to peculiar or partial conclusions, it was an error of the head and not of the heart.[223]

Henry took his bride to the upper Sacramento, and they lived on the Moon and Ford ranch, probably at the celebrated Moon House, one of the largest of the early houses in the area. Warren N. Woodson has given an excellent description of the house. It was a two-story structure, twenty by forty feet, of hewn logs and shake roof. Downstairs were two rooms, one a store and bar room, the other a combined kitchen and dining room. Upstairs were four bedrooms, and at each end of each floor was a fireplace. Thus it was not only a dwelling but a store and tavern as well. The house, since destroyed, was located in a grove of cottonwoods several hundred feet west of a high bank of the Sacramento River. The site is about three-fourths of a mile east of Merrill school and about a mile south of the present Woodson bridge over the Sacramento.[224] Since Bruff found the second story of the house under construction in mid-November of 1850, completion was probably late in that year or early in 1851. The village of Moon's Indians was a short distance above the house, and several miles farther north was the Hall brothers' tavern, called "Miner's Rest."[225]

Stages ran past Moon's, but the going was difficult in bad weather, and the many taverns along the route must have been used to the utmost, for travel in the upper Sacramento Valley had greatly increased with the opening of the northern mining camps and the establishment of several towns above the Moon and Ford ranch.[226] Nearest, and about twelve miles north, were the few houses at Tehama. About an equal distance farther north was the town of Red Bluff. Steamboats now plied the upper river to Tehama and even to Red Bluff, the vicinity of which was first reached by the *Jack Hays* in May of 1850.[227]

Across the river, Ford and John Wilson still retained their interests in parts of Bosquejo. Still farther east, fall snows soon whitened the Sierra Nevada, a reminder to Henry and Susan of their first meeting and hardships there.

Since Henry had been elected assemblyman from Colusi County, his ranch routine was broken in mid-winter by preparations for his attendance at the

1852 session of the legislature. Little more than two years before, Susan had made the trip from Lassen's downstream in an open boat with Henry as steersman at the stern. Now the pair embarked at Tehama and enjoyed the quite superior accommodations of the "new and splendid" 148-ton side-wheeler, *Camanche,* with Capt. James A. Grant in the wheel house.[228] The Sacramento *Union* of January 3, 1852, noted the steamer's successful negotiation of the river hazards and said, "She brings down a large number of passengers among whom are Captain Ford (member of the House from Colusi county) and lady." Ford's service in the legislature, which met at Vallejo and Sacramento, has been noted.

During the session, Henry made several trips to San Francisco where Susan visited her family, then living at their new home built on a Rincon Hill lot owned by Henry. Mrs. Katherine Wakeman Cooper, daughter of Mary Eliza Wilson Wakeman, wrote of Rincon Hill. Her lengthy list of visitors and neighbors of the Wilsons reads like a who's who of old San Francisco. Among these were the Shermans of whom she says: "General [W. T.] Sherman and family occupied a home on Harrison Street, and were friends of my grandparents; when the General returned to San Francisco, at intervals, he always came to see Grandma Wilson." Of the Wilson home itself, Mrs. Cooper says:

> My earliest recollections of Rincon Hill call to mind our old home on the southwest corner of Fremont and Harrison Streets, the house was not much to look at—a frame structure brought round the Horn in sections—but many illustrious people passed through its portals. But the garden, however, at one time known as the most beautiful in San Francisco, and the first one there, by the way, appealed to all. On the south of our house the white Cherokee ran riot with the small button rose, while the star-shaped clematis mingled its fragrance with the English honeysuckle. Below, in the garden beds, grew the Triumphe de Luxemborg, and a rose we called the musk, from its delicious odor, the rose geranium and the lemon verbena, while the old Scotch Broom swayed to and fro in the breeze. The bed of hyacinths, and the amaryllis belladonna, the first bulb of which was brought to my grandmother by an old ship captain from the Samoan Islands, these too had their place in this beautiful garden. There was a broad walk there, too, and the children of the neighborhood in search of excitement, would turn on the faucet and fill it with water, stepping backwards and forwards on abalone shells as from one port to another. . . .[229]

The Wilsons were very fond of Henry, and he of them. Mary Eliza wrote this warm appreciation of Henry: "In disposition he was gentle, but in a moment if any thing crossed him his eyes would flash as a tiger's, had beautiful brown eyes large and gentle. Well about his mouth it was large very, filled with most beautiful white teeth which he took no pains to hide, his hair light brown soft and fine, great reader loved music sang pretty well fond of poetry a little over six feet I think. Pa used to say was raw boned. Spoke Spanish well was affectionate, caressing and tender, careless in business of his own but with that of others was the soul of honor, would go on any man's bonds for thousands of dollars and often had it to pay."[230]

Henry was at his ranch in June 1852 when word came to him that Susan had died in San Francisco "from quick consumption following premature confinement."[231] Of further details, those contained in this newspaper notice are found:

> Died—At the residence of her father, Gen. John Wilson, on the evening of the 22d inst [June]. Mrs. Susan Anne Ford, wife of Henry Ford Esq., aged 22 years. Mr. Ford was absent upon his farm in the country, preparing a future home of his family. The deceased was a lady of superior mind and accomplishments, of most amiable and lovely disposition, kind to all, and desiring to see everybody happy. She retained her faculties to the last and bad adieu to her weeping relatives and friends, without a murmur, her countenance beaming with resignation to the decree of the all-wise Disposer. Also on the same day, John Henry, infant son of Mr. and Mrs. Ford. The friends and acquaintances are invited to attend the funeral, from the residence of Gen. John Wilson, Rincon Point, on Friday morning, at 10 o'clock.[232]

Susan and little John Henry were laid to rest on the crest of the slope above the Wilson home, and Henry returned to his lonely ranch on the Sacramento.[233]

VII. INDIAN AGENT

Following his appointment as superintendent of Indian affairs for California on June 2, 1854, Thomas J. Henley proceeded to the consideration of a site for an Indian reservation in the upper Sacramento Valley.[234] He availed himself of Ford's knowledge of the vicinity and obtained his services in the making of a detailed reconnaissance for a suitable area west of the village of Tehama.

Assembling a party, Ford with six others left Tehama August 29, 1854, and camped north of Elder Creek opposite the house of Robert H. Thomes. The following day they traveled up that creek six or eight miles, then moved southwesterly eight or nine miles to Dry Creek, thence northwest up the latter to a valley which Ford later named Reservation Valley. It was described by him as being six or eight hundred acres in extent, with fine oak and cottonwood timber and a luxuriant growth of wild oats and bunch grass. During a two-day camp in the valley, a visit was made to Elder Creek, about four miles to the north. September 1, camp was moved several miles south to a well-watered valley containing a sulphur spring. Examination of the country continued the next day. On the third, the party moved farther south to Thomes Creek, then down to its lower forks where Ford had a talk with, and distributed presents to, about fifty Indians of the "Nome Lacka" tribe who lived in the area traversed, and who indicated that their tribe, about 300 in number, would be willing to come in and work at a reservation if established.

Ford then returned to Tehama and, on September 4, he reported by letter his trip and recommendations to Henley. Among other advantages of the area reconnoitered, Ford mentioned its central location with respect to Indians of northwestern California, its valleys in which different tribes could be placed with ease of supervision, and its separation from white settlements by a low range of barren hills.[235] The Nome Lackee Reservation, which resulted from Ford's investigation, may be described in general terms as triangular in shape and lying in the area outlined by the present villages of Lowrey, Flournoy, and Paskenta, all in Tehama County.

Several weeks later Henley inspected the area, but on his return to San Francisco he found that his instructions required the submission of estimates to Washington for approval in order to use the appropriated funds. In his letter giving his estimates to Supt. G. W. Manypenny, Henley told of his determination to proceed with the project already begun in order that the land could be prepared that fall, and a crop raised the next year for the destitute Indians. Among the many items required were stock cattle, work oxen, horses and mules, equipment, clothing and blankets, expense of collecting and subsisting Indians, freighting, and pay and rations for employees.[236]

Captain Ford was placed in charge as sub-agent and began his task, including the preparation of winter quarters. By October there were collected about 200 Indians of a "squalid appearance, almost without clothing or any means to acquire subsistence."[237]

Also early in October a meeting was held at the bull-and-bear fight arena of S. P. Storms in Nevada County, attended by Henley, Gen. John E. Wool, William M. Gwin, John B. Weller, James W. Denver, Sam Brannan, and others. This group had seats in the amphitheatre, and the Indians attending were seated on boards in the ring. Henley, interpreted by Storms, explained his proposal to move the Indians from the gold country to Nome Lackee where they would be unmolested. The Indians objected, saying that they had been lied to by Wozencraft, Beale, and McKee, former commissioners, and did not believe Henley. Nevertheless the committee approved Henley's proposal.[238]

In November, probably because of short rations, Henley instructed Ford: "For the present no further effort must be made to bring in Indians or to induce them to come to the Reservation." Ford was told to keep a daily record of work done, and to make a weekly written report to Henley. Detailed instructions were given, and "strict economy and vigilance" were to be required of all employees.[239]

Capt. E. D. Keyes, 3d Artillery, made an inspection in the fall of 1854 and recommended to General Wool a site for a military post just above the fork of Thomes Creek on the southerly side of the reserve.[240] However a small detachment of Company B, 3d Artillery, under 2d Lieut. James Deshler, took station farther to the northwest where they established Camp Nome Lackee January 4, 1855.[241] The primitive quarters of the troops were located several hundred yards southerly from an adobe "fortification," built later in

1856, and probably were near rows of cottonwood trees and a field on which, according to local tradition, "the soldiers marched."[242] The adobe fortification was not a military fort, but it was built on a knoll for protection of agency personnel after the withdrawal of troops by General Wool, pending a survey of the reservation.[243] It was about one hundred feet square and had walls two and one-half feet thick and about ten feet high.[244] The location, about three miles northwest of Flournoy, is indicated today by crumbled walls and a historical marker.[245]

A long report by Captain Keyes, covering another inspection made by him in July 1855, complimented Ford's management of the reservation and the industry of his Indians. There were then 1000 Indians on the reserve, not including males absent hunting. The Indians appeared well fed, much better clothed, and contented. About 20,000 bushels of excellent wheat and barley had been grown on 1000 acres. "Immense amounts of wild oats, grass seeds and roots" had been cleaned and stored showing "a disposition to remain on the Reserve." A few huts had been built for the Indians. A flume, which eventually became five miles long and supplied water power for a flour mill, had been built to divert water from Elder Creek. The Indians were very adaptable, the men and boys cultivating and harvesting, the squaws gleaning the fields "so that not a head of wheat or barley is left." The squaws also were taught to plait straw, to make straw hats, and to sew and make clothing.[246]

Nome Lackee was but the beginning of Henley's ambitious reservation program. On September 22, 1855, he ordered an examination of the country and Indian tribes in the general area of Mendocino County and northward to Cape Mendocino. For this task he selected H. P. Heintzelman who served as state senator from the Sonoma district in 1855 and 1856.

Heintzelman assembled a small exploring party at Petaluma, left there September 24, and traveled by way of Santa Rosa, Russian River Valley and Anderson Valley to the ranch of "Bob" White, near the coast and some three miles north of "Bool-dam," now known as Big River. There the party was increased by the joining of White, John Simpson, and Samuel Watts, all residents since 1852, who could speak the language of several Indian tribes.

Leaving White's on October 2, the party reached Cape Mendocino October 8, after a fatiguing journey over rough terrain. Thence they moved eastward and southeastward, traversing the valleys now named Long, Sherwood, Little Lake, Ukiah and Potter. Returning to the Noyo River on the coast October 26, a further detailed examination was made. This resulted in Heintzelman's recommendation to Henley for a reservation site "lying between the south bank of the Noyo — so as to include the Noyo River — and a point on the coast one mile north of the mouth of Hale [now Ten Mile] River and running back to the Coast mountains." Heintzelman's report, map, and accompanying data on Indian tribes, were completed November 16, 1855.[247]

The next day Henley endorsed the project by letter to Manypenny, and President Franklin Pierce approved the reservation May 22, 1856.[248]

Meanwhile, Henley had selected to take charge of the proposed reserve the agent who had so successfully managed Nome Lackee. So Captain Ford was issued orders on November 3, 1855, to proceed to the new site and, if satisfied with the location, to commence building quarters for the winter. The employment of a hunter, carpenter, and a farmer was authorized. Ford was enjoined "to keep one plow running constantly," to keep the Indians at work getting out timber and gathering food, and to make no expenditures except those "absolutely necessary to keep possession of the Reserve and preserve peace with the Indians until the selection shall have been approved by the President."[249]

The country which Ford was now to examine was quite different from the upper Sacramento and the foothills of western Tehama County, which are characterized by hot summers and a comparatively light rainfall. The magnificent Mendocino shoreline must have reminded Henry of such portions of the Maine coastline as he had seen. Along the coast were jutting cliffs, open table land, patches of scraggly pines and some sand dunes, but farther back, in more protected and more favorable locations, were immense virgin stands of redwood and other timber, as yet virtually untouched by the operations of the two sawmills at the village and bay of Mendocino.

Passing about ten miles northward from that town, begun by "Honest Harry" Meiggs and his associates in 1852, the traveler reached the Noyo River, south boundary of the proposed reserve. There the estuary, its sheltering bluff once reached by light craft, would provide a good haven. Upstream about three miles were the ruins of a tiny sawmill established by George Hagenmeyer in 1852. About two miles north of the Noyo was Duff River or "Chimnabada," now Pudding Creek, and nearly three miles farther to the northeast was Bald Hill. Immediately west, and also several miles northeast of Bald Hill, were open, arable tracts.

North of Duff River were White's, now Virgin Creek, and a lake and an unnamed creek now called Laguna. Then came grassy table lands, fringed with coastal sand dunes, extending to Hale Creek, or "Beedatoe," later named Ten Mile River, which had several grass flats. Salmon were running the streams, seals appeared, and the shoreline had many mussel beds.[250]

The contiguous areas were inhabited mostly by various tribes of Pomo Indians, who each year took advantage of the mild climate to winter on the coast and escape the frost and snow of the high interior.

Ford, enthusiastic about the prospect, found the area "admirably adapted for an Indian Reservation, more so than any selection that could have been made in the State, for various reasons." Again, he enumerated as advantages the isolation from whites and natural obstacles, often later proved by land-hungry settlers to be illusions. He also named the farming possibilities and the rich fishing resources. Satisfied, he set about the building of crude shelters as protection from the heavy winter rains.

During 1856 Ford constructed at least eight dwellings and a smoke house.[251] Included were the headquarters buildings of the agency, about a half-mile north of the Noyo.[252] Separate farms were established: at Bald Hill under M. C. Dougherty, and at "Cully-Bool" immediately south of the Noyo under John P. Simpson. "Bob" White was general overseer and in charge of the gardens. The work routine was prescribed in much detail by Henley who ordered, "The Bell should ring at 5 o'clock in the morning, Breakfast at 6 o'clock and at 7 o'clock let the work commence."[253]

The year 1857 was one of much activity. Henley found it hard to keep his Indians on the reservations. Neither did he confine to the authorized reservations his own activities, for he had conceived the idea of extending his control under the guise of additional "farms." In 1856 Henley had formed the "Nome Cult Farm," with S. P. Storms in charge, in Round Valley, northeastern Mendocino County, as an adjunct of the Nome Lackee reserve.[254] Early in 1857 Henley, with the same purpose in mind, sent James Tobin to investigate the country near Cape Mendocino. Leaving the Mendocino Reservation, Tobin with five others explored the coast northward. There was little opposition to his progress for, says Tobin, "Although ordered back by almost every new tribe we encountered, we soon disarmed opposition by an exhibition of our skill as riflemen." Deer and elk were reported numerous. At Cape Mendocino, erroneously described by Tobin as the extreme western point of the United States, the party's flag was planted, and three cheers were given for Uncle Sam. Returning, Tobin reported very favorably on the Mattole River Valley as a farm location.[255] The Mattole Farm was established the same year, and it continued for several years despite the opposition of settlers. There is some evidence that Henley tried to extend his control even farther north to the Bear River.[256]

Captain Ford's report for 1857 showed much progress at his reservation; more than 3000 Indians were present, and the necessity for the schooling of the young Indians was stressed. Over 350 acres were planted to wheat, oats, barley, peas, potatoes and turnips. The fish taken included 30,000 pounds of cod, much of which was dried and salted, and 10,000 pounds of small fish. There were then 12 buildings, 25 houses for Indians, and a large hospital. Roads built included one to Little Valley by way of Bald Hill and another from the Noyo to Mendocino City. A new station was established at Ten Mile.[257] Thaddeus M. Ames was the agency physician.[258]

A schooner of twenty tons was "used for bringing supplies from the landing at Mendocino City to the reservation, a distance of twelve miles." Of the resourcefulness of the Indian crew, Henley stated that once a gale came up when the schooner's captain was ashore drunk at Mendocino harbor. The

Indians took an anchor to windward in a small boat, dropped it, hauled the vessel until it could clear the point, put to sea, and the next day returned to safety.[259]

There were two occasions in 1857 when arrivals from the outside world gave Captain Ford opportunity to prove his frontier hospitality.

The first was on June 5 when 1st Lieut. Horatio G. Gibson, coming from the Presidio of San Francisco, landed at Mendocino City with a detachment of about twenty men of Company M, 3d Artillery, destined for duty at the reservation. Captain Ford made the reservation schooner available for the transport of the detachment's heavy equipment to the Noyo and provided Indians for carrying tents and light baggage. On June 11, 1857, Gibson established himself about one and one-half miles north of the Noyo and named his new post Fort Bragg, for his former company commander Captain, later General, Braxton Bragg, who had gained undying fame at the battle of Buena Vista. The fort was abandoned in 1864 but its name is retained by the town established at the same site in 1889. With the help of tools loaned by Captain Ford, three fort buildings were erected and occupied by mid-September, and others were soon under way.[260]

Soon after Gibson, a hunting party of fifteen from San Francisco arrived at the reservation, guided by James Tobin. This included prominent persons, among them Col. Jack Hays, Fred H. Teschemaker and Edward Vischer. Alexander Edouart, an artist from San Francisco, accompanied and made sketches en route. Among his seven sketches, which were later reproduced, were those of the hunting party at Sherwood Valley, the fishing station at the Noyo, and the issuing of rations to Indians at the reservation headquarters. The party was shown every courtesy by Superintendent Henley, then at the reservation, and by Captain Ford.[261]

The chronicler with the party, probably Vischer, thus described the reservation headquarters and vicinity:

> The buildings of the station stand on a slightly elevated plain, about a mile from the sea, and nearly the same distance from the mouth of the Noyo; they consist of a spacious store-house, offices and mess-rooms, the dwelling of the Agent and some smaller cottages for the employees. There is also a physician's and apothecary's department, and a number of work-shops. The Indians regularly employed, together with their families, live close by in block-houses, arranged in an open square. In the midst of this rises what seems to be a large mound. It is a mud-plastered roof, covering a round excavation, and the whole is a good specimen, though on a very large scale, of the usual Digger Indian style of architecture. On one side is a small hole, for entrance; and another hole in the roof serves for a chimney. The Indians use this wigwam as a Temascal or sweat-bath, in which they shut up their sick to pass through an ordeal of heat and smoke, sometimes for hours on a stretch. It also serves as a council-chamber and as a banquet-hall, and for the performance of their religious rites. In it the bodies of the dead are reduced to ashes, the whole community keeping up a most doleful howling meanwhile.
>
> Not far from the buildings, on the edge of the woods, are the Rancherias of those tribes which still live in their primitive condition. Each tribe has a separate camp, and some of

their wigwams are so hidden in the bushes, that their whereabouts is only betrayed by the smoke.[262]

In 1858 Alex. McPherson built a sawmill on the north bank of the Noyo about a half-mile from its mouth and on the reservation.[263] This enterprise, undoubtedly having Henley's sanction, was of benefit to the reservation and fort from the standpoint of lumber supply, but became involved later in the opposition of an Indian Department inspector. McPherson lived at the fort with Lieutenant Gibson, who made a survey of the harbor for McPherson.[264]

Sometime in the spring of 1858, Alexander Edouart returned and made two paintings of Fort Bragg for Gibson. Edouart also made a sketch of Round Valley the same year, possibly being accompanied on that visit by Captain Ford.[265]

J. Ross Browne, a special agent of the Indian Department, made a report attacking the conduct of the California Superintendency and the administration of the Mendocino Reservation. Concerning the latter, it appears that Ford, with his usual helpfulness, made the mistake of making to McPherson a loan of forage for McPherson's oxen and some clothing and provisions. This loan was subsequently repaid. At their own request, Indians were allowed to work for wages at the mill. To a charge that Indians were starved, Ford cited his issues of food, and forwarded statements of his assistants to show the falsity or distortion of this and other charges by Browne.[266]

Ford closed his report on these matters with the following frank statement:

> In reference to loaning government property for private purposes, which I have done on two or three occasions, I admit upon reflection [it] was improper and wrong. It was done without reflection and without any intention of defrauding the Indians or the government. I have taken pains at all times and have spared no efforts to provide for the wants of the Indians. It is a difficult task. But if Mr. Brown [Browne] will take the trouble of remaining long enough on the Reservation to make himself fully acquainted with the subject, I will endeavor to show that he has erred in about all his conclusions in regard to the affairs at Mendocino.[267]

Later in the year G. Bailey, also a special agent, took exception to the high per capita cost of the care of Indians in California. He noted the sawmill at the Noyo and a store near it, and considered both an injury to the reservation.[268] Finally the pressure against Henley reached such a degree that in the spring of 1859 he was relieved as superintendent by James Y. McDuffie, but Captain Ford weathered the storm and continued as sub-agent at Mendocino.[269]

During 1859 over 1000 Indians were received at the reservation from Gen. William C. Kibbe who conducted a campaign with state troops against hostile Indians in the northern part of California. The crops raised at the reserve in 1859 included over 7000 bushels of grain, 3000 bushels of potatoes, and many tons of other vegetables. About $83,000 had been invested in stock, improvements and implements. Captain Ford's plea for schooling of the Indians resulted in the employment of a schoolmaster.[270]

Soon after the receipt of his appointment, McDuffie made an inspection of the Mendocino Reservation. There he found large blacksmith and carpenter shops, and barns superior to any seen on other reservations. There were a number of houses built for employees, "of ordinary but comfortable character," and headquarters buildings which were small, though well constructed.[271]

Let us visit Captain Ford in his house at headquarters. The place is furnished simply. Differing from most backwoods habitations, it holds a collection of books, and on the walls are ten or more oil paintings.[272] No words or pictures are necessary to revive in Henry's memory the scenes of his boyhood in New Hampshire. Equally clear is his remembrance of hot anger and cold terror at Carlisle, of his stowing away, of the inquiry, "What's your name, lad?" and of his reply, "I am Henry L. Ford." One of the books on the shelf, Edwin Bryant's, reminds Ford of his own service for California and the nation, by which he atoned in part for his former misdeed. Five of the paintings on the wall tell of an episode of that service, but only the memory remains of deadly lances flashing past and musket balls thudding against the oaks of Olompali. Also there is Susan's portrait, reviving thoughts of love in the Sierra Nevada and sorrow on Rincon Hill.

Captain Ford was now well known in the rural areas of northern California, less so in its growing cities. His management of Indian reservations brought him just praise and some blame for his mistakes. It appears that his tenure of office exceeded in length that of any contemporary sub-agent or agent in California. His boyhood education had been quite ordinary, but probably was about average for the time. His later writings show an improvement in vocabulary, expression, and spelling, but his habit of omitting words continued. Among characterizations of Ford, not previously mentioned, the following are found: "A man of retiring and modest demeanor . . . simple in his habits and address"; "highly respected by all who knew him and enjoyed his friendship"; "hardly less noted for his cool bravery in the hour of danger, than for his warm hearted affability in moments of social enjoyment."[273] Ford had a desire for land, but his land ventures came to naught because of debt. So it seems that his richest possession was the respect of the pioneer element of which he was a part.

At Ukiah in February 1860, Captain Ford testified at length regarding reservation matters before a joint committee of the state legislature, then investigating the "Mendocino War" disturbances between the settlers and Indians.[274]

Somewhat later, Henry visited the Wilsons at San Francisco. He had contracted a "very bad cold." Mary Eliza tells of his departure: "Mother and I went out to the gate with him. Mother reached over and pulled his over-coat together saying, 'Henry, you are so careless about yourself, it will be a wonder to me if you don't die from this cold, it seems to me you are bound to kill yourself.'" Knowing that Mrs. Wilson thought him careless in his handling of his pistol and that she was "in mortal terror always about his shooting himself," Henry put his arm about her to kiss her goodbye, saying, "Mammy, see this pistol. I don't fear that as much as I do a cold."[275]

In late June 1860, Captain Ford left his reservation and, in company with Superintendent McDuffie, ascended the old "Bucha" Indian trail leading from Ten Mile toward Sherwood Valley. Passing Cahto and crossing the Eel, the party reached the vicinity of an elevated point now called Inspiration. Before them is Round Valley, "encompassed around on all sides with a coronal of blue, broad-based mountains, which are dappled green and golden with wild-oat pasturage and shredded forest, while the valley spreads broadly out, in its great circumference, an ocean of yellow grain and pasture fields islanded with stately groves of white oak."[276]

Ford entered the valley on July first, intending to drive some stock back to his reservation. The next morning at about nine o'clock, while the saddle cover was being placed on his horse, a pistol attached to the horn of the saddle was accidentally discharged, and the ball which struck Captain Ford in the neck killed him almost instantly.[277]

There, in a small frontier burying-ground in the valley of Nome Cult, between the Sacramento and the Mendocino coast, was interred the body of Henry L. (Noah Eastman) Ford.[278]

The news of his death sped by trail from the isolated valley and across the mountains to Tehama, whence it was flashed to the outside. Newspaper notices appeared, to be read by many to whom his name meant little, but those who needed no reminder of his deeds—those who sorrowed most—were the survivors of that little band who knew him best as lieutenant of the Bears.

APPENDIX A. THE FIVE PAINTINGS

The group of five paintings reproduced with this biography was located by the author in 1948. Their identification as items associated with Ford and the establishment of the name of the artist are matters of probable interest to the reader.

The paintings are unsigned and bear no indication of their subject, but there was a tradition that they represented Captain Ford. A comparison of the paintings, particularly the close-up of the group, with daguerreotypes of Ford, showed that he was the central subject.

Next came the identification of the artist. Immediate suspicion arose that he was Alexander Edouart. We have seen that in 1857 Edouart, a San Francisco artist, accompanied a hunting party which visited the Mendocino Indian Reservation, then in charge of Ford; that Edouart made a number of sketches on that trip, including one of the reservation headquarters; that he had some experience in painting mounted men, since his sketch of the mounted hunting party at Sherwood Valley was later developed into a painting and published; and that Edouart returned in 1858 and painted the military post of Fort Bragg and made a sketch of Round Valley.

Mary Eliza (Wilson) Wakeman wrote in 1894: "I know of a man who went to Mendocino to paint views. H. L. [Ford] got him to paint sister's [Susan's] picture and gave it to mother [Mrs. John Wilson], said he would send her his as a mate but it never came."[279] An oil painting of Susan, possibly made by Edouart from her daguerreotype portrait, is in possession of the author.

All this was helpful and circumstantial, but inconclusive. Then the author examined the records of the Mendocino County Probate Court, estate of Henry L. Ford, deceased. Interest was immediately increased by finding an inventory and appraisement of the estate, listing among the personal property "10 pictures (paintings)" valued at $25.00. Further search was rewarded. Among the papers was an approved claim against the estate, signed by Alexander Edouart, for "Five oil Paintings sold and delivered Sept. 1859, Fifty (50) Dollars each, $250.00." A separate bill attached shows that the paintings were on canvas.[280]

As to the episode represented by the paintings, the camp on the hill and the flag bring to mind Frémont's camp in the Gabilan Range where the American flag was raised in March 1846. This possibility must be ruled out, since there is no record that Ford was associated with Frémont at that time, nor is there any record of comparable happenings connected with that event. Apparently the American flag was not raised again over any military camp in California until after the Bear Flag revolt. During Ford's service with Frémont's battalion there was much scouting, some skirmishing, and many camps in the hills. It is known that some tentage was used by the battalion.

It is safe to conclude that the paintings were executed by Alexander Edouart and that they were intended to represent a scouting episode, much idealized by the artist, pertaining to the service of Captain Ford in the California Battalion. Lacking titles, the captions shown are those suggested by the present writer.

The paintings are known to have been acquired by Capt. Granville P. Swift, possibly soon after Ford's death.[281] It is appropriate that they should have gone to Ford's friend and comrade.

Alexander Edouart, son of the famous silhouettist, Augustin Amant Constance Fidele Edouart (1789-1861), and Emilie Laurence Vital Edouart (1791-1825), was born in London, England, on November 5, 1818.[282] Alexander received a college education at Edinburgh, Scotland, and studied art in Italy in 1847 and 1848, possibly even earlier.[283] He is presumed to be the Alexander Edouart who exhibited at the National Academy of Design, New

York City, as follows: 1849, "Group of Children" and "Portrait of a Gentleman"; 1850; "La Bella Romano," "View of Villa Pamphilia," and "Portrait of a Gentleman."[284]

It seems that he was the "A. Edwart" who arrived at San Francisco as a passenger on the clipper ship, *Queen of the East*, on September 8, 1852, after sailing from New York on April 7 or 8 of the same year.[285] An article, "Blessing of the mine," signed "A. E.," appeared in *Hutchings' California Magazine* of February 1860.[286] A woodcut, "The Enriqueta Quicksilver Mine, on the Morning of Dedication," accompanies the article. Since Edouart is known to have made a similar painting of the same subject, the article may be attributed to him. He states therein, "As an old miner, I was satisfied with what I saw." Mining may thus account, in part, for his occupation in California until he finally settled in San Francisco. A directory of that city, published in the fall of 1857, shows him as an artist with studio at 94 Montgomery Street.[287] Early in 1859 he made a short visit to England and France.[288] About 1860 he turned to photography and then continued in that profession.[289] In 1890 he moved to Los Angeles where, until his death on November 6, 1892, he and his son, Alexander Edouart, Jr., were associated as photographers.[290]

To Edouart is attributed the following paintings in addition to those reproduced with this work; doubtless there were many others. The latest known owner of the paintings is first indicated:

Alexander Edouart, his son
  Portrait of Augustin A. C. F. Edouart, his father
  Santa Clara Valley
Augustin Edouart Bryant, his grandson
  Alexander Edouart, self-portrait
  Portrait of Melodile Farciot Edouart, his wife
  A Landscape
  An Italian Scene
  Studies in watercolor
  Miniatures
Frederick Sidney Jones (all probably originally owned by Ford)
  Headquarters, Mendocino Indian Reservation (two scenes)
  Indian Fishing Station at the Noyo River
  An Indian Camp
  Four coastal scenes
Mrs. Katherine Gibson White, daughter of Gen. Horatio G. Gibson
  Fort Bragg, California (the military post)
C. W. Lyon, Inc.
  Blessing of the Mine
Present location not discovered
  Portrait of Flora, daughter of Thomas J. Haynes
  Mendocino Hunting Party

Edwin Grabhorn has the original oil sketches from which were made the woodcuts and the paintings of the headquarters of the Mendocino Indian Reservation and of the Indian fishing station at the Noyo River.

Edouart's best paintings show considerable care in development and finish, good color, and effective composition. The "scouting" series of five paintings and some of his portraits are in this class. Other works, painted thinly and obviously quickly from hasty field sketches, aim only at a general impression with little regard for detail. In the latter category are his Mendocino scenes. Here it seems that any other handling would have been false to the rugged and primitive character of the subject matter. Such product carries to this day a conviction often quite lacking in more meticulous works. Edouart, of all artists of early California, contributed most to the painting of the old Mendocino.

APPENDIX B. AFTERMATH

Captain Ford's grave is in a cemetery about a mile south and a mile west of the town of Covelo in Round Valley, Mendocino County, California. The earliest date of death noted on any marker in the cemetery is 1858. When located by the writer in 1948, Ford's grave was marked only by a board which probably had been renewed several times. A military headstone now marks the grave more permanently and appropriately. A bronze tablet was placed at the grave by the people of Round Valley and was dedicated on Memorial Day 1950.[291]

Richard Heman Ford, who had returned to California in 1860 after a previous visit in 1853, became administrator of the estate of his brother, Captain Ford. The liabilities far exceeded the assets, mainly because of a note for a large sum and accrued interest at a high rate. Numerous letters in the National Archives attest to the diligence but general lack of success of Richard Ford in his attempts to satisfy government requirements regarding some of Captain Ford's suspended vouchers.[292]

Several books dealing with members of the legal profession of California carry statements which indicate that Henry Lambert Ford, an attorney of Eureka, California, was a son of Captain Ford, was born at Noyo on May 15, 1860, and that his mother was Martine [*sic*] Yugera (Higuera?) Ford, who later married Archibald P. Osborn, a veteran of the Mexican War.[293] It seems that such data must have been furnished by Henry Lambert Ford.

First Sergeant Osborn, Company E, 1st Battalion of Mountaineers, enlisted at Cahto, California, July 27, 1863, and was mustered out June 14, 1865, with his company, which saw most of its service at Camp Grant in Humboldt County.[294] The lone grave of Martina Osborn is near the Chimney Tree and Highway 101, about nine miles north of Garberville, California. The headstone shows that she died February 17, 1884, aged thirty-six years, although a Bible record states that she was born in 1845. Martina was said to have been an Indian woman of more than ordinary attainments and of estimable character.

No record is found of the union of Captain Ford with Martina — indeed there were probably quite a few unrecorded marriages in the early days of Mendocino County.[295] It can only be stated that nothing is found to prove or disprove the claim of Attorney Ford, which he undoubtedly established to his own satisfaction. He must be given much credit for gathering some essential information regarding the early life of Captain Ford, thus enabling further research in that direction. Henry Lambert Ford died at Eureka March 3, 1930.[296]

NOTES

217. "Wilson Papers," Ford's voucher for $150, and voucher for tavern bill.

218. Issue of Dec. 15, 1849. But see voucher in "Wilson Papers" for transport of Wilson and family to San Francisco on the schooner, *John Allyne*. Since Wilson officially reported his arrival as of Dec. 9, only a part of his family may have taken the *Senator.*

219. Wilson's vouchers total about $5000, to which should be added the cost of his escort, Lyon's trip to retrieve the cached baggage, property and animals lost, and items of relief received, an aggregate of possibly $15,000. Wilson's personal loss, at prices then current, may have reached nearly $10,000.

220. Culmer, "California Letter," p. 203; " 'General' John Wilson," p. 338; Bancroft, *History of Calif.*, VI, 188, n. 24.

221. Samuel Hopkins Willey, MS "Diary and Commonplace Book," p. 126 (CU). Mary Eliza cryptically states that Ford, before his marriage to Susan, disclosed to John Wilson a "life secret which saddened his life," perhaps the story of his desertion from the Dragoons. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893.

222. Willey, *History of the First Pastorate of the Howard Presbyterian Church* (San Francisco, 1900), p. 46.

223. John Bidwell, "Reminiscences of the Conquest," *Overland Monthly*, 2d ser., XVI, 561-62, 571.

224. Woodson, *Trail of the Trail Blazers*, p. 12; line cut of Moon house in Sacramento *Union*, April 20, 1941, p. 20.

225. *Gold Rush*, II, 928. A "Ford Springs," which may have been named for Henry L. Ford, is shown between Moon's and Thomes Creek on a MS map of 1849 by P. B. Reading (C). Woodson believes that this may be the spring about 1½ miles northeast of Corning.

226. *Colusa County*, Calif., p. 38.

227. *Placer Times*, May 22, 1850; Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle-Wheel Days in California* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1944), pp. 16, 85.

228. *Ibid.*, p. 135; *Alta*, Dec. 20, 1851.

229. Mrs. Cooper, "Rincon Hill and its early-day Residents," *Grizzly Bear*, XII, No. 1, pp. 1, 11. A long article on Mrs. Wilson is in "Tea-Table Chat," San Francisco *Post*, Oct. 2, 1886. The former site of the Wilson home is now occupied by a service station, standing at an approach to the San Francisco-Oakland bay bridge.

230. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893.

231. *Ibid.*

232. San Francisco *Herald*, June 25, 1852. A long obituary also appeared in *The Pacific* (San Francisco), June 25, 1852.

233. Mrs. Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 1. The remains of Susan and John Henry Ford were transferred to the John Wilson lot at Laurel Hill cemetery in 1871. They now rest at Cypress Lawn cemetery, San Mateo County. *Records,* those cemeteries.

234. Thomas J. Henley (1807-1875) was a native of Indiana, served in the legislature of that state, was congressman for six years, came to California in 1849, and was postmaster-general for California in 1853. He died at Round Valley, Mendocino County. Bancroft, *History of Calif.*, VI, 674.

235. Ford to Henley, Tehama, Sept. 4, 1854 (NA).

236. Henley to Manypenny, San Francisco, Sept. 25, 1854 (NA). Although Henley reported that Nome Lackee means "running water," Stephen Powers, in "The California Indians," *Overland Monthly*, XII (June 1874), 531, says that the term means "western tongue or talkers."

237. Capt. E. D. Keyes to Maj. Gen. J. E. Wool, May 31, 1855 (NA); *Weekly Placer Times and Transcript* (San Francisco), Sept. 30, 1854. During the last quarter, 1854, there were eighteen employees under Ford (list in CUB).

238. *Nevada Journal* (Nevada City, Calif.), Oct. 6, 1854. Storms became agent at the Round Valley reservation, to which some Nevadas were later transported. Augustus G. Tassin, "Chronicles of Camp Wright," *Overland Monthly*, 2d ser., X (July 1887), 25; "L.M." in "The Indians of Nevada County," *ibid.*, III (March 1884), 275.

239. Henley to Ford, Nov. 30, 1854 (NA). Copies of some weekly reports (CUB).

240. Keyes to Wool, Dec. 12, 1854 (NA).

241. War Department, "Returns" (NA).

242. Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 19; oral statement, Arthur Wilcox, Paskenta, to F. B. Rogers.

243. U.S., Office of Indian Affairs (hereafter cited as O.I.A.), *Report*, 1856 (Washington, 1857), p. 238; Wool to Sen. J. B. Weller, Oct. 5, 1856, in 34th Cong., 3d sess., House *Ex. Doc.* 76, pp. 143-44.

244. Calif. Legislature, 10th sess., Sen. *Journal*, App. 19, p. 228; Henley to Com. Ind. Affairs, Sept. 4, 1856 (NA).

245. *Grizzly Bear*, June 1938, p. 21.

246. Keyes to Townsend, Aug. 15, 1855 (NA).

247. Heintzelman to Henley, Nov. 16, 1855, and inclosures (NA).

248. Alban W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and their Administration* (Philadelphia, 1932), p. 61.

249. Henley to Ford, Nov. 3, 1855 (NA).

250. Description of the country and Indians based on Heintzelman's report and map, and Ford's report to Henley, Jan. 25, 1855 (both NA). Sawmill data from Lyman L. Palmer, *History of Mendocino County, Calif.* (San Francisco, 1880), pp. 141, 431-32.

251. O.I.A., *Report*, 1856, p. 239.

252. Lieut. H. G. Gibson to Maj. W. W. Mackall, June 18, 1857 (NA); plat of Twp. 18 N., R. 17 W., Mount Diablo meridian, Dec. 28, 1866, which shows the reservation headquarters buildings immediately northwest of the center of the SW ¼ of the SW ¼, Sect. 7.

253. Henley to Ford, Dec. 19, 1856 (NA).

254. O.I.A., *Report*, 1858, pp. 306-309.

255. Tobin to Henley, April 29, 1857, *ibid.*, 1857, pp. 403-406.

256. *Ibid.*, 1858, p. 285; Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 66; *Humboldt Times* (Eureka, Calif.), Sept. 5, 1857, June 18, 1858.

257. O.I.A., *Report*, 1857, pp. 394-98.

258. Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

259. O.I.A., *Report*, 1857, p. 260.

260. Gibson to Mackall, June 8 and 18, Sept. 15, 1857 (NA). More data on Fort Bragg in F. B. Rogers, "Early Military Posts of Mendocino County, California," this QUARTERLY, XXVII (Sept. 1948), 216-19.

261. Edward Vischer (1809-1879), probable author, "Reminiscences of Mendocino,"

Hutchings' California Magazine, III (Oct. 1858), 145-60, 177-81, in which are woodcuts by Thomas Armstrong from Edouart's sketches.

262. *Ibid.,* pp. 157-58.

263. Palmer, *op. cit.,* p. 141.

264. Gibson to Mrs. J. S. Cotton, of Fort Bragg, Mar. 12, 1911.

265. *Ibid.* Reproduction of the Fort Bragg painting is in Jeanne Van Nostrand and Edith M. Coulter, *California Pictorial* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1948), p. 143. Photograph of the Round Valley sketch is in Smithsonian Institution.

266. Ford to Henley, May 5, 1858; statements of F. O. Wakeman, May 5; F. E. Warren, June 7; L. F. Hinckley and R. White, June 14, 1858 (all in NA).

267. Ford to Henley, May 5, 1858.

268. O.I.A., *Report,* 1858, p. 301.

269. Hoopes, *op. cit.,* p. 65.

270. Calif. Legislature, 11th sess., Sen. *Journal,* App. 11, "... Reports ... on the Mendocino War," pp. 15-17.

271. McDuffie to the Com., Sept. 4, 1859, in 36th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 46, p. 7.

272. Mendocino County, Calif., Probate Court Records, Case No. 17, "Inventory and Appraisement of Estate." *See also* Appendix A of the present work.

273. Sacramento *Daily Union,* July 10, 1860; *Sonoma County Journal* (Petaluma), July 13, 1860; *Sonoma County Democrat* (Santa Rosa), July 12, 1860.

274. "Reports on the Mendocino War" (as in note 270 above), pp. 15-17.

275. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Nov. 6, 1893.

276. Description from Stephen Powers, "The Northern California Indians, V," *Overland Monthly,* IX (1872), 305. There is a Ford Peak, elevation 3301 feet, four and one-half miles of Covelo, Calif., but I am unable to ascertain for whom it was named.

277. McDuffie to Com. A. B. Greenwood, July 10, 1860 (NA); Sacramento *Daily Union,* July 6, 10, 1860; Marysville *Daily Herald,* July 8, 1860; *Sonoma County Journal,* July 13 and 20, 1860. Bancroft, *History of Calif.,* III, 744, erroneously states that Ford was killed in 1856 in Tehama County. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman says that Ford died in the arms of "Ed [Colston] Marshall," who became attorney general of California for period 1883-1886. Her postscript to H. L. Ford (ca. 1894).

278. See Appendix B.

279. Mrs. M. E. Wakeman to H. L. Ford, Jan. 16, 1894.

280. Mendocino County, Calif., Probate Court Records, Case No. 17.

281. Napa *Reporter,* May 1, 1875.

282. Mrs. F. Neville Jackson, *Ancestors in Silhouette* (London, 1921), pp. 2, 3, 21, gives data on Alexander's parents and some of their children, but fails to mention Alexander. However, I have seen a letter of Nov. 8, 1887, to his "brother" Alexander, from the vicar of Leominster, England, Augustin Gaspard Edouard (*sic*), son of A. A. C. F. Edouart. Collection of Alexander Edouart, son of the artist.

283. Information from his son, Alexander, and Mrs. Augustin Edouart Bryant.

284. *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860* (New York, 1943), p. 145.

285. *Alta California,* and San Francisco *Herald,* both Sept. 9, 1852. The state census of 1852 for San Francisco County (C) lists Alexander Edouard (*sic*), artist, born in England, residence New York.

286. Vol. IV, 338-40.

287. *San Francisco Directory,* 1858.

288. Passport file of Alexander Edouart.

289. San Francisco directories, 1861 to 1889.

290. Statement, Alexander Edouart, Jr., to F. B. Rogers; Los Angeles directories, 1890 to 1892.

291. *Redwood Journal-Press-Dispatch* (Ukiah), June 5, 1950.

292. Some of this difficulty may have arisen because of the refusal by Captain Ford to settle his accounts until he could obtain an acknowledgment of a debt of $2,500 which he claimed was owed him by Henley. J. Ross Browne to Com. Ind. Affairs, Feb. 4, 1860, in 36th Cong., 1st sess., Sen. *Ex. Doc.* 46, p. 15.

293. Oscar T. Shuck, *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (Los Angeles, 1901), p. 836; J. C. Bates, *History of the Bench and Bar of California* (San Francisco, 1912), p. 312.

294. Richard H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion* (Sacramento, 1890), pp. 830, 843.

295. The 1860 census of Big River Township, Mendocino County, Calif., includes the registration of Henry L. Ford, dated June 29, 1860, but lists no members of his family.

296. *Humboldt Times* (Eureka), March 4, 1930.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BEEBE, LUCIUS, and CHARLES CLEGG
Cable Car Carnival. Oakland, Grahame Hardy, 1951. 136 p. illus. $6.00.

BROWN, WILLIAM S.
California Northeast; the Bloody Ground. Oakland, Biobooks, 1951. 207 p. illus., map. $15.00.

CARUTHERS, WILLIAM
Loafing Along Death Valley Trails; a Personal Narrative of People and Places. Palm Desert, Desert Magazine Press, c1951. 186 p. illus., ports. Apply to publisher.

DEMAREST, D. C.
Has the Mother Lode Seen Its Finish? Oakland, 1951. 16 p.; A Bit of Mother Lode History. Oakland, 1951. 36 p. [Author's note in both publications: "The material of this Article has been drawn from the chapters of my Book, entitled *Memories of the Mother Lode*, which is being prepared for early publication."]

FARRELLY, DAVID, and I. H. HINDERAKER, eds.
Politics of California; a Book of Readings. N. Y., Ronald, 1951. viii, 320 p. maps. $3.25.

FATOUT, PAUL
Ambrose Bierce; the Devil's Lexicographer. Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1951. xv, 349 p. plates. $4.00.

GLEASON, JOE DUNCAN
Islands of California; Their History, Romance, and Physical Characteristics . . . Los Angeles, Sea Publications, 1950. 5, 104 p. maps. $2.50.

HUFF, THEODORE
Charlie Chaplin. N. Y., Schuman, 1951. 354 p. plates. $4.50.

HULBURD, DAVID
This Happened in Pasadena. N. Y., Macmillan, 166 p. $2.50.

HUNT, AURORA
The Army of the Pacific. Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1951. 455 p. plates, map. $10.00.

HUNT, ROCKWELL DENNIS
Vintage of Vignettes. N. Y., Exposition Press, 1951. 11, 79 p. $2.50.

JONES, IDWAL
Ark of Empire; San Francisco's Montgomery Block. N. Y., Doubleday, 1951. 253 p. illus. $3.50.

JONES, JOSEPH ROY, M.D.
Memories, Men and Medicine; a History of Medicine in Sacramento, California, with Biographies of the Founders of the Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement and a Few Contemporaries. [Sacramento] The Society, 1950. xvii, 505 p. illus. $5.25.

KEYES, ERASMUS DARWIN
West Point to California. Oakland, Biobooks, 1950. 100 p. illus. $6.00.

MATTHES, FRANÇOIS EMILE
Sequoia National Park; a Geological Album. Edited by Fritiof Fryxell. Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1951. viii, 136 p. illus. $3.75.

NEVADA CITY NUGGET
One Hundred Years of Nevada County. [Nevada City] The Nugget, 1951. 136 p. illus. 50 cents.

PADRE CHORISTERS, MISSION SANTA BARBARA
Songs of the California Missions. [Album of two, 10-inch records (78 RPM), presenting a cross section of California's earliest music] $2.75 upon application to the American Administrator of the Cause of Padre Serra, Old Mission, Santa Barbara.

PARKER, C. M.
California Song Book; a Brief History of California Told in Song and Plays. [Lancaster, C. M. Parker, 1951] $1.25.

POTTER, ELIZABETH GRAY
Early Mexican Ranchos in the San Francisco Bay Region. San Francisco, [The National Society of Colonial Dames of America Resident in the State of California] 1951. 37 p. illus. New edition.

RODGERS, GLENDON J.
Kern County Is Our Home. [Bakersfield, Merchants Printing and Lithographing Co.] c1950. 4, 125 p. illus., maps. $2.50.

SCHMIDT, FRED
Windspiele der Kalifornien-Fahrt die Zeit der Grossen Yankeeklipper. Berlin, Palmen-Verlag, 1950. 104 p. illus. $1.50.

[SCHMULOWITZ, NAT]
Dedication of Room for Housing of Schmulowitz Jest Book Collection at the San Francisco Public Library, November 30, 1950. [San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1951] 22 p. illus.

SHANKLAND, ROBERT
Steve Mather of the National Parks . . . N. Y., Knopf, 1951. xii, 326, xxii p. plates. $4.00.

STARR, WALTER A.
Guide to the John Muir Trail and the High Sierra Region. San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1951. xii, 130 p. front. 4th ed., completely rev. $2.00.

TAYLOR, FRANK JOHN, and EARL M. WELTY
Black Bonanza; How an Oil Hunt Grew into the Union Oil Company of California. N. Y., Whittlesey, c1950. 280 p. illus. $4.00.

THOMPSON, R. A.
The Russian Settlement in California, Fort Ross . . . Oakland, Biobooks, 1951. ix, 50 p. illus. $6.75.

ZIEGLER, ISABELLE GIBSON
The Nine Days of Father Serra. N. Y., Longmans, 1951. 242 p. [Fiction] $3.00.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

March 1, 1951, to May 31, 1951

Note: The following gift list reflects the interest of members residing in 26 California counties. Much of this large and welcome support of the aims of the Society is evidence of the vigorous efforts of Mr. Ralph H. Cross, Chairman of the Committee on Library and Gifts.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MRS. MICKEY AITKEN, Portland, Oregon – Her: *The Saga of Salubria.* Weiser, Idaho, Signal American Printers, 1951.

From THE ARCHIVES AND MUSEUM OF THE POLISH ROMAN CATHO-

LIC UNION, Chicago — Wolanin, Alphonse S. *Polonica Americana: Annotated Catalogue of the Archives and Museum* ... Chicago, The Union, 1950.

From MR. L. BURR BELDEN, San Bernardino — Smith, Gerald A. *Prehistoric Man of San Bernardino Valley*. Redlands, San Bernardino County Historical Society, 1950.

From MRS. FRANK H. BENNETT, Palm Springs — [Wright, George F., ed.] *History of Sacramento County* ... Oakland, Thompson & West, 1880.

From BLISS & HURT, TRUDELL & BERGER, San Francisco — Their: *Recommendations for the Ultimate Development of Columbia Historical State Park;* and *Master Plan Report for the Development of Columbia Historic State Park.* [Both:] San Francisco, 1950.

From MR. A. A. BRIERLY, Independence — *Index of the Great Register of Inyo County, California, 1910;* and *Index to the Great Register of Inyo County, California ... 1950.*

From MRS. FRANK H. BUCK, Vacaville — Trask, John D., and J. Nilsen Laurvik, eds. *Catalogue Deluxe of the Department of Fine Arts, Panama-Pacific International Exposition.* 2v. San Francisco, Paul Elder, c1915; Panama-Pacific International Exposition Company. *Official Publication ... Hand-Colored.* N. Y., Albertype Co., c1915; [Wahlgreen Company] *Official Catalogue ... of the Department of Fine Arts, Panama-Pacific International Exposition* ... [San Francisco] c1915; and Macomber, Ben. *The Jewel City.* San Francisco, John H. Williams, 1915.

From MRS. ARTHUR H. BURFEIND, El Cerrito — Delkin, James Ladd. *Flavor of San Francisco.* San Francisco, Recorder-Sunset Press [c1943].

From MR. ELBERT S. CONNER, Santa Barbara. First National Trust and Savings Bank of Santa Barbara. *Facts Behind the Fame of Santa Barbara and Santa Barbara County.* [Santa Barbara, n.d.]; and [Freemasons, Scottish Rite] *Souvenir Program* ... [Santa Barbara, 1950]

From THE HON. LEON THOMAS DAVID, Los Angeles — His: *Law and Lawyers; One Hundred Twenty-Eight Years in the History of Los Angeles As Seen from the City Attorney's Office.* [Los Angeles, 1950]

From MRS. DONALD DAVIES, Salinas — Eight contemporary pamphlets and letters descriptive of Fort Ord, the Monterey Bay Mineral Society, the Mission San Antonio de Padua, Soledad, Monterey, Salinas, and Carmel; and the [*Index to the Great Register of Monterey County, 1950*]

From MR. BEN F. DIXON, San Diego — Adams, H. Austin. *The Man, John D. Spreckels.* San Diego, Frye & Smith, 1924; Melo de Remes, María Luisa. *Castillos en el Aire.* Mexico City, 1950; Engelhardt, Zephyrin. *San Diego Mission.* San Francisco, James H. Barry Co., 1920; Davidson, Edward, and Eddy Orcutt, comp. *San Diego; A Brief History* ... [San Diego, Arts and Crafts Press, 1929]; Lloyd, Mary. *The Birthplace of California; Old San Diego* ... [San Diego, Neyenesch Printers] c1950; U. S. Federal Writers' Project. *San Diego; A California City. American Guide Series.* [San Diego] San Diego Historical Society, c1937; Dixon, Ben F. *Beginnings of Public Education in San Diego, Calif. ... a Term Paper ... 1950.* [mimeographed]; Folder of notes on sericulture typed from information in the files of the San Diego Historical Society; Folder of typed transcriptions from the official records of the Union and the Confederate armies pertaining to the filibustering attempt of the Showalter Party at Temecula, 1861; Thirty-five pamphlets relating to San Diego County; Ten pamphlets concerning the California centennials celebrations in San Diego County; and a series of 18 press releases issued by the San Diego Historical Society, 1949-1951.

From THE FIRST UNITARIAN SOCIETY OF SAN FRANCISCO — Its: *One Hundred Years of the First Unitarian Church of San Francisco, 1850-1950.* [San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1950] Two copies.

From MR. AND MRS. WALTER GABRIEL, San Francisco, in memory of MRS. SARAH G. COOKE – Mercantile Library Association. *Catalogue of the Library . . .* San Francisco, Francis & Valentine, 1874.

From MR. FREDERICK M. GANZ, San Francisco – Perry, Stella G. S. *The Sculpture and Mural Decorations of the Exposition.* San Francisco, Paul Elder, c1915; Neuhaus, Eugen. *The Galleries of the Exposition.* San Francisco, Paul Elder, c1915; Raymond, Maud Wotring. *The Architecture and Landscape Gardening of the Exposition . . .* San Francisco, Paul Elder, c1915; Neuhaus, Eugen. *The Art of the Exposition . . .* San Francisco, Paul Elder, c1915; *The Blue Book; A Comprehensive Official Souvenir View Book of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition . . .* San Francisco, Robert A. Reid, 1915; *Orpheum Tenth Anniversary Souvenir, 1887-1897.* [San Francisco, 1897]; Singer, Mort H., ed. *Orpheum Circuit; Third of a Century.* [San Francisco, 1922?]; Mullgardt, Louis C. *The Architecture and Landscape Gardening of the Exposition . . .* [San Francisco, Robert A. Reid, 1915?]; and Burness, Jessie Niles. *Sculpture and Mural Paintings in the . . . Panama-Pacific International Exposition . . .* San Francisco, Robert A. Reid, 1915.

From THE REV. MAYNARD GEIGER, O.F.M., Santa Barbara – His: *The Library of the Apostolic College of San Fernando, Mexico, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* [Reprinted from *The Americas*, April, 1951]

From MRS. DONNELL GREELY, Yuba City – Seward, George F. *Chinese Immigration, in its Social and Economical Aspects.* San Francisco, Edward Bosqui & Co., 1881; and California. Secretary of State. *California Blue Book or State Roster, 1913-1915.* [Sacramento] State Printing Office, 1915.

From MR. HARRY L. HANSON, Santa Ana – Sherman, H. L., comp. *A History of Newport Beach.* [Los Angeles] City of Newport Beach, c1931.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING, Palo Alto – Indiana Historical Society Library. *Annual Report for 1949.* Indianapolis [The Society] 1950.

From THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION OF THE CITY OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA – Its: *The Charleston Directory for 1782 and the Charleston Directory for 1785.* Reprint. [Richmond, Va., 1951]

From THE JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER, Palm Springs – Its: *Dedication Book, 1951.* [n.p., 1951]

From J. ROY JONES, M.D., Sacramento – His: *Memories, Men and Medicine . . .* [Sacramento] Sacramento Society for Medical Improvement, 1950.

From MRS. DAVID LAVENDER, Ojai – Twelve pamphlets mainly pertaining to the semi-centennial of the Thacher School and the Ojai Valley Tennis Tournament.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D., San Francisco – [Jackson, Helen Hunt] *Bits of Travel at Home.* By H. H. Boston, Roberts Brothers, 1893.

From MRS. KENNETH McKENZIE, Los Angeles – Wilson, James Grant, ed. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography,* v. 1 and 2. New York, Appleton, 1888. This completes the Society's set of this work.

From THE MASSACHUSETTS MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Springfield – Its: *A Century of Service.* Springfield, Massachusetts Mutual Life Insurance Company, c1951.

From MR. LEON L. NEWLAND, Bedford, Ind. – Newland, Robert E. and Leon L. *The Newland (Newlon) Family; a Brief Genealogy . . .* [n.p., c1946]

From MRS. RUTH NEWPORT, Sonora – [Newport, Thomas L.] *The Lure of the Mark Twain-Bret Harte Counties; An Official Travelogue of the Mark Twain-Bret Harte Trail . . .* Jamestown, Mother Lode Magnet, c1931; *Vest Pocket Guide and Business Directory of San Francisco* [n.p., *ca.* 1890]; Gillis, William R. *Memories of Mark Twain and Steve Gillis . . .* Sonora, The Banner [n.d.]; *Gold Centennial, Tuolumne County.* [*Sonora,* Union Democrat, 1950]; and nine pamphlets concerning Tuolumne and Calaveras Counties.

From MR. I. M. PECKHAM, San Francisco – His: *Flags Over California.* [Text of an address delivered before members of the San Francisco Women's Chamber of Commerce. San Francisco, 1951]

From MRS. ELIZABETH GRAY POTTER, Piedmont – Her: *Early Mexican Ranchos in the San Francisco Bay Region.* San Francisco, 1951.

From MR. GLENDON J. RODGERS, Bakersfield – His: *Kern County Is Our Home.* [Bakersfield, c1950]

From COL. FRED B. ROGERS, Berkeley – Associated Veterans of the Mexican War. *History of the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Taking Possession of California and Raising of the American Flag at Monterey . . .* Oakland, Carruth & Carruth, 1896.

From MR. ALBERT S. SAMUELS, San Francisco – Fifteen primary and secondary school books, 1830-1875, typical of those used in California schools during that period.

From MR. NAT SCHMULOWITZ, San Francisco – *Dedication of Room for Housing of Schmulowitz Jest Book Collection at the San Francisco Public Library, November 30, 1950.* [San Francisco, Privately Printed, 1951]

From MR. ROBERT TAFT, Lawrence, Kansas – Reprints of five of his articles published in the *Transactions* of the Kansas Academy of Science.

From THE THACHER SCHOOL, Ojai – Makepeace, LeRoy McKim. *Sherman Thacher and His School.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1941.

From MR. GEORGE HEALEY TONDEL, Fresno – [City of Los Angeles] *Los Angeles City Centennial Celebration . . .* [Los Angeles, 1950]

From THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS PRESS, Austin – Its: *Latin-American Studies, XII;* Knapp, Frank Averill, Jr. *The Life of Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, 1823-1889.* Austin, 1951.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER, San Marino – Farquhar, Francis P. *The Ascent of the Grand Teton in 1898.* [n.p., 1939] Reprinted from *The American Alpine Journal,* 1939; Farquhar, Francis P., and Garfield Merner. *Flight to the North Pole, 24 August, 1949.* San Francisco [Grabhorn Press] 1950; Farquhar, Francis P. *Yosemite: The Big Trees and the High Sierra; A Selective Bibliography.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1948; *In the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1946 . . . United States of America, Plaintiff, vs. State of California, Defendant. Brief for the State of California in Opposition to Motion for Judgement . . .* Los Angeles, Parker & Company [1946] (Relates to tide lands.); Kipp, J. B. *The Colorado River.* Edited by Francis P. Farquhar. Los Angeles [Muir Dawson] 1950; Hanna, Phil Townsend. *The Dictionary of California Land Names.* Los Angeles, Automobile Club of Southern California, 1946; Harding, George L. *George Prescott Vance, 1851-1936.* San Francisco, Taylor and Taylor, 1937; Farquhar, Francis P., and Mildred P. Ashley. *A List of Publications Relating to the Mountains of Alaska.* N. Y., The American Alpine Club, 1934; Fauntleroy, Joseph. *John Henry Nash, Printer.* Oakland, Westgate Press, 1948; González Cabrera Bueno, José. *Navegacion especvlativa, y practica, con la explicacion de algvnes instrvmentos . . . y otros tratados curiosos. Compvesta per . . . Ioseph Gonzalez Cabrera Bueno . . .* Manila, Impresa en el Convento de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, 1734; Rittenhouse, Jack D. *Dime Novels on Early Oil.* Sierra Madre, The Stagecoach Press, 1951; Martinez, Andres. *True Narrative of the Hardships and Fate of Those Who Sailed on the Voyage to the Rio de la Plata.* New York [Yale University Press] 1946; and DeGolyer, E. *The Journey of Three Englishmen Across Texas in 1568.* El Paso, The Peripatetic Press, 1947; one hundred eleven book catalogs of such famous booksellers as Quaritch, Rosenbach, Maggs Bros., Henry Stevens' Son & Stiles, and Goodspeed's; and 132 other pamphlets pertaining to bibliography and western Americana.

From MRS. CLARA L. WATSON, Guerneville, in memory of her brother, CHARLES FRANCIS GRIFFIN, M.D. – Burnham, Daniel H. *Report on a Plan for San Francisco.* San Francisco, 1905; Wallis, Talbot H. *Catalogue of the California State Library.* Sacramento, State Printing Office, 1889; Bureau of Municipal Research, New York. *Report on a Survey of the Government of the City and County of San Francisco.* San Francisco, Rincon Publishing Company [1916]; Dohrmann, F., Jr. *Three Years on a Board; Being Experiences of the San Francisco Board of Education, 1922-1923-1924.* San Francisco, 1924; Wilcox, Delos F. *San Francisco's Street Railway Problem . . .* San Francisco, Pernau-Walsh Printing Co., 1927; Hegemann, Werner. *Report on a City Plan for the Municipalities of Oakland & Berkeley.* [n.p.] 1915; Arnold, Bion J. *Report on the Improvement and Development of the Transportation Facilities of San Francisco . . .* San Francisco, 1913; Freeman, John R. *On the Proposed Use of a Portion of the Hetch Hetchy, Eleanor and Cherry Valleys . . . as Reservoirs . . .* San Francisco, Board of Supervisors, 1912; and ten additional pamphlets.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. L. BURR BELDEN, San Bernardino – *Citrus Leaves*, Sept., 1927; and San Bernardino County. Department of Agriculture. *Agricultural Crop and Livestock Report*, 1950.

From MRS. FRANK H. BUCK, Vacaville – *California's Magazine*, July, 1915; and *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Dec., 1927-Dec., 1939.

From MR. HAL CURTIS, San Francisco – Fifty issues of San Francisco newspapers, 1890-1936; the *Watsonville Rustler*, July 14, 1893; and 11 original or facsimile issues of non-California papers, 1728-1888.

From MRS. DONALD DAVIES, Salinas – A representative collection of 13 newspapers and periodicals currently published in Monterey County.

From MR. PERRY EVANS, San Francisco – Thirteen numbers of the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 1944-47.

From MR. AND MRS. WALTER GABRIEL, San Francisco, in memory of MRS. SARAH G. COOKE – *Californian Illustrated Magazine*, 1891-94; *Sunset, the Pacific Monthly*, 1900-51; and the *San Francisco Examiner*, Dec. 2, 1913.

From MR. JOHN LAWLOR, San Francisco – The San Francisco *Mission Journal*, July 23, 1887, containing the obituary of Samuel Crim, early San Francisco horseman and real estate operator.

From MR. HOBART LOVETT, Berkeley – The San Juan Bautista *Echo*, Jan. 28, Feb. 11, 1871; and the Monterey *Republican*, July 13, 1871.

From MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY, Department of Sociology and Anthropology – Its: *Anthropology and Sociology Papers*, nos. 2, 3, and 5 (1950-51).

From THE NEBRASKA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Lincoln – *Index* to the New-York Historical Society *Quarterly Bulletin*, v. XX (1936); and Smithsonian Institution. *Annual Report*, 1903, 1913-17.

From MRS. RUTH NEWPORT, Sonora – Angels Camp *Mountain Echo*, Mar. 21, 1882; *Watsonville Rustler*, June 23, 1893; and the *Twain Harte and Sierra Times*, Apr. 12, 1951.

From MISS CORNELIA D. PROVINES, Oakland – San Francisco *Daily Morning Call*, Sept. 3, 5, 9, 1878, containing death notices of Henry H. Haight.

From MRS. STANLEY B. ROSCOE, Eureka – Eureka *Independent*, Jan. 17, 1951, and continuation.

From THE SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY – Its: *Bulletin*, March, 1928-June, 1950.

From MRS. E. P. SCHLICHTMANN, San Leandro – San Francisco *Il Messaggiero*, Feb. 16, 1896; and San Francisco *La Voce del Popolo*, May 17, 1872.

From MRS. J. J. VAN NOSTRAND, Berkeley – *The Californian*, April, May, and July, 1881; and *The Overland Monthly*, Jan. and Sept., 1892.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER, San Marino – University of Texas. *Library Chronicle*, Spring, 1947; U. S. Library of Congress. *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*, 6 numbers, 1943-1945; and *Imago Mundi*, VI (1950).

From MRS. CLARA L. WATSON, Guerneville, in memory of her brother, CHARLES FRANCIS GRIFFIN, M.D. – *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 6 numbers, 1949-50.

From MR. AND MRS. HAROLD O. WEIGHT, Pasadena – Their: *Calico Print*, June, 1950, and continuation.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MR. HENRY COLBY, Berkeley – Pfeiffer, Florence. *Some Facts of John Martin Pfeiffer's Life*. [*ca.* 1941]

From MR. ELBERT S. CONNER, Santa Barbara – *Lista de los Señores que han Obtenido votos en la presente Eleccion . . .* [Santa Barbara, Nov^{e}. 13 de 1849] Signed Raym^{do}. Carrillo and Gaspar Oreña; *Proclama al Pueblo de California* issued by Bennett Riley, Oct. 12, 1849 [contemporary copy]; and *Documents in the Office of the County Clerk, Court House, Santa Barbara, as Catalogued by E. S. Conner, April 4, 1951.* [Typewritten]

From MR. HAL CURTIS, San Francisco – A collection of printed and manuscript materials, 1854-1921, formerly belonging, in the main, to his grandfather, Henry Payot, a prominent political leader, member of the French colony, and a San Francisco bookseller and publisher beginning in 1850.

From MISS BLANCHE GALLOWAY, Madera – A page from an 1852 account book kept by Major James D. Savage at his trading post on the Fresno River.

From MISS DOROTHY V. GLOSTER, Alturas – Her: *A Brief History of Alturas.* [Compiled, 1941, rev., 1951]

From MRS. HELEN HOGUE, Redding – Photostatic copies of an 1859 Shasta County Chinese marriage certificate and of an 1854 Shasta school term expense voucher.

From MR. ERNEST INGOLD, San Francisco – Facsimile of the original deed conveying the birthplace of Fray Junipero Serra in the village of Petra, on the island of Mallorca, to the City and County of San Francisco, Dec. 29, 1932.

From MR. JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON, San Francisco – An anonymous narrative of sailing experiences around the world, 1918-1921.

From MRS. CHARLES MACKENZIE, Los Gatos – Reminiscences, pictures, and clippings concerning her father, George W. Turner, her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Cephas Turner, and a poem, *La Dona's Vision*, descriptive of Mrs. Loreta Alviso Peralta; and a letter and clippings pertaining to the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire, 1906.

From the late MISS ANNE MARTIN, Carmel – An additional collection of letters and clippings relating to prominent Californians.

From MRS. E. P. SCHLICHTMANN, San Leandro – Letter of Santiago Damonte, Buenos Aires, July 26, 1884 [to the Valergo family, Oakland]

From MRS. ESTHER RUTH SMITH, Gasquet – Typewritten descriptive list of 7 extant diaries and reminiscences, all of which are Del Norte County source materials.

From MRS. CLARA L. WATSON, Guerneville, in memory of her brother, CHARLES FRANCIS GRIFFIN, M.D. – Pacific Coast Labor Bureau. *Report on Financial Ability of Market Street Railway to Build Extensions and Betterments to its System.* San Francisco [1930]; The Sunset Transportation and Development Association. *Constitution, By-Laws, and Minutes, 1921-1930;* and a scrapbook describing San Francisco public schools, 1921.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS, San Francisco – The Hamilton College diploma, 1850, and the passport, 1864, of Edward Silam Lacy.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MRS. NORMA E. BALL, Jackson – Eighteen stereoscopic views of the San Francisco Fire, 1906, taken by her father, Fred Werner, Sutter Creek.

From MRS. E. L. BANFORD, San Francisco – Thirty-four views of Yosemite Valley and Calaveras County photographed in 1893 by Richard Finking, Jr., while on a camping trip there with William C. Hassler, M.D., and Charles H. Roese, M.D.; and one picture of a twenty mule team returning from Death Valley, *ca.* 1901.

From CALIFORNIA STATE AUTOMOBILE ASSOCIATION – Its separate maps of San Mateo, Marin, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and Alameda Counties, the cities of San Jose, Santa Clara, and San Francisco and the Bay area.

From MR. WILLIAM ROBERTSON COE, New York City – Clark, William. *A Map of Part of the Continent of North America . . . Compiled From the Information of the Best Informed Travellers Through That Quarter of the Globe in Which* [*flow*] *the Missouri, Jefferson, Lewis, Clark, and Columbia Rivers . . .* [1805] Colotype reproduction from the original manuscript in the Coe Collection at Yale University, 1950.

From MR. ELBERT S. CONNER, Santa Barbara – A certified copy of a *Map of the City of Santa Barbara Laid Out by Salisbury Haley and Drawn by V. Wackenreuder, 1851. No. 1.*

From MR. HAL CURTIS, San Francisco – Three group photographs of Henry Payot, J. Emmett Hayden, James Rolph, Jr., Edward R. Taylor, and others; and 14 views of the San Francisco earthquake and fire, 1906.

From MRS. DONALD DAVIES, Salinas – Kennedy, Clyde C. *Map of City of Soledad . . . February, 1949.*

From MR. AUBREY DRURY, San Francisco – Photographs of Newton Booth and of General Charles Decker.

From MRS. EUGENE FOUNTAIN, Arcata – Rigby, W. B. *Map of Arcata, Humboldt Co., Calif., 1933.*

From MR. FREDERICK M. GANZ, San Francisco – Photograph of the *Banquet to the President of the United States, Palace Hotel, Oct. 13, 1911.*

From MR. HARRY L. HANSON, Santa Ana – Ashby, Gladyce E., and Fred C. Groos. *Orange County Adobes, Old Roads, Trails, Ranchos, Springs and Other Points of Historical Interest.* [Santa Ana] 1936.

From MR. ERNEST INGOLD, San Francisco – Eight views of the Junipero Serra birthplace used as illustrations for his: *The House in Mallorca.*

From MRS. DAVID LAVENDER, Ojai – *Moller's Map of Ojai Valley, California.* [Ojai, *ca.* 1950]

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D., San Francisco – Photographs of the James Lick mill and circular storehouse, Alviso, and of the Magnetic Mineral Springs House near Glenwood.

From MR. HOBART M. LOVETT, Berkeley – Twenty maps of southern California published by the Automobile Club of Southern California.

From the late MISS ANNE MARTIN, Carmel – Photographs of Francis G. Newlands, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, and Sara Bard Field.

From MRS. HOMER H. MITTEN, Piedmont – Photograph of A. K. P. Harmon, 1849 pioneer.

From MRS. ROGERS PARRATT, Berkeley – Six photographs and a daguerreotype of members of the Rodden, Lux, and Bowers families.

From MISS CORNELIA D. PROVINES, Oakland – Engraved portrait of Henry H. Haight.

From MRS. STANLEY B. ROSCOE, Eureka – An official street grade map of a portion of the city of Eureka, 1941.

From MRS. EDNA DAHL SAMPSON, Grass Valley – Photographs and biographical sketches of various members of the Dahl, Rosevear, Wheeler, Adams, Sampson, Mell, and Stoddard families; photograph of an automobile making the first endurance run between San Francisco and Crystal Springs Dam, 1901; and a group of newspaper clippings on Nevada County.

From MRS. E. P. SCHLICHTMANN, San Leandro – Photographs of Maude Rockwell, Edson Adams, and Commodore Foote; a watercolor of an Oakland residence; and two volumes of Hawaii photographs, *ca.* 1900.

From F. C. TYNG, M.D., Coos Bay, Ore. – Portrait of Capt. Francis A. Thompson of the *Pilgrim.* [Photographic copy]

From MRS. CLARA L. WATSON, Guerneville, in memory of her brother, CHARLES FRANCIS GRIFFIN, M.D. – *Building Zone Ordinance and Zone Maps in Force,* [*San Francisco*] *March 1, 1935;* and 28 assorted city, county, and regional maps of northern California; five photographs of the ground-breaking for the Holy Name School, San Francisco, 1940, and the opening of the Duboce Tunnel, San Francisco, 1927; photographs of Dr. Griffin and of his San Francisco home; and *Mission Dolores Valley – 1858,* a painting by Mrs. Mary Park Seavy Benton, wife of the Congregationalist pastor, John Eliot Benton. On Oct. 16, 1928, this painting was exhibited at a California Historical Society luncheon at which Dr. Griffin spoke (QUARTERLY, VIII, 410).

From MISS LOTTIE WOODS, San Francisco – Engraving from Millar's *New Complete and Universal System of Geography* entitled: *Dress of the Inhabitants of California With Their Manner of Rafts for Fishing, etc.*, Thornton, sculp.; three stereoscopic views of exhibits at Woodward's Gardens, San Francisco; two photographs of Lotta Crabtree and of Johann Friederich Escholtz; and three views taken at the Vallejo home, Sonoma.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. ELMA P. ATCHISON, Folsom – A group of newspaper clippings relating to El Dorado County.

From MR. K. K. BECHTEL, San Francisco – A recent model Remington Rand adding machine.

From MRS. FRANK H. BENNETT, Palm Springs – Scrapbook of newspaper clippings, 1907-1931, depicting the career of her father, William Henry Berry, former owner of the Los Angeles and the San Francisco baseball teams.

From MR. JACQUES DE LA MONTANYA, San Francisco – Collection of keys manufactured by Charles Brown from brass received from the James de la Montanya Company, early San Francisco importers of stoves, metals, and tinware; and the pocket gold scale of James de la Montanya.

From MRS. EUGENE FOUNTAIN, Arcata – A collection of newspapers and newspaper clippings from Humboldt County.

From MISS BLANCHE GALLOWAY, Madera – A collection of 14 pamphlet, map, and manuscript materials mainly pertaining to Madera County.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER, San Francisco – A recipe for *Tamalón,* a favorite dish of early Spanish Californians.

From MR. C. M. GOETHE, Sacramento – A monetary contribution to be used for publicity purposes.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING – Six San Francisco Clearing House certificates, Nov. 1, 1907.

From MR. J. W. JOHNSON, Berkeley – A wooden gold rocker from Moore's Flat.

From MR. LAWTON KENNEDY, Oakland – A large supply of fine quality cards on which to mount our ever-growing collection of book-plates. In addition, both Mr. Kennedy and A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D., have given the Society a generous supply of other office materials.

From MRS. LINN O. B. LINDSTROM, San Francisco – Scrapbooks of photographs and clippings, and wooden and brass signs, all describing activities of the San Francisco Babies Aid, 1928-49.

From MR. H. J. PATTERSON, San Francisco – A percussion cap pistol used prior to the Civil War.

From MISS SUSANNA P. PEFFER, San Francisco – A collection of magazine articles and newspaper clippings, including three autograph letters, describing activities of Mary Hunter Austin (1868-1934).

From MR. PAUL ROMER, San Anselmo – A double, gold shawl pin fashioned in Denmark from two gold nuggets brought back from California before 1848 by his grandfather.

From MRS. E. P. SCHLICHTMANN, San Leandro – Three pieces of German sheet music published and sold by Cranz Brothers, Oakland, 1885; and an 1891 membership card of the Pacific Coast Fresco Painters' Union, San Francisco.

From MRS. FREDERICK P. VICKERY, San Francisco – A portable melodeon, brought to San Francisco in 1849 by her grandfather, John Francis Pope. This melodeon was used in California's first Protestant church building, the First Baptist Church of San Francisco, in which was also housed California's first public school.

From MR. GEORGE COSSITT WHITE, Pasadena – His song: *The Redwood Trees*. Pasadena, 1948.

MEETINGS. – At two of the meetings held this spring the members and their guests slid – or, more elegantly, were projected – from the heights of the Sierra (with Carl P. Russell on March eighth) down to the boisterous unlevel of sea level (with Marshall Stimson on May tenth), there being no lessening of interest in either case; for it is just as impossible to be cold, emotionally, to slides showing the Merced River in full spray or the Yosemite in full snow, as it is to sit, unaffected, when a mid-1850's clipper ship in full sail is flashed on the screen. At the third meeting (Peter T. Conmy on April 12), the audience likewise traveled, i.e., into the caverns of frontier (Vigilante) justice, to penetrate which no route – nor the destination itself, for that matter – is more mined by pitfalls. Reviews of these meetings have been postponed until the September QUARTERLY. Through the generosity of its president, Aubrey Drury, the Society now has a file of the tape recordings of recent luncheon-meeting addresses. As may be imagined, they constitute an inestimable boon to present and future reviewers.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

January 31, 1951

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher. Their full report for 1950 is on file at the headquarters of the Society, a summary being given below.

BALANCE SHEET

As at December 31, 1950

Assets		
Cash—Commercial account	$ 3,460.01	
Savings account	3,550.14	
Office revolving fund	20.00	7,030.15
U. S. Savings bonds, "G"		1,100.00
Accounts receivable		
General fund	141.61	
Publication fund	6.87	148.48
Inventory of publications		3,180.25
Prepaid insurance		185.50
Total assets		$11,644.38
Liabilities		
Accounts payable—General fund		—
Sales tax payable—State	—	
City	—	—
Withholding tax payable		—
Contributions reserved for special purposes		—
Dues collected in advance		615.00
		615.00
Funds		
General fund	1,445.42	
Publication fund	6,151.22	
Library fund	2,332.74	
Cavalier memorial fund	1,100.00	11,029.38
Total liabilities and funds		$11,644.38

NOTE: Library collections and furniture and fixtures are not valued on the books. Balance in "Contributions for special purposes" account at December 31, 1949, was transferred during the year 1950 to the Library Fund.

GENERAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1950

Receipts		
Dues—Active members	$12,932.50	
Sustaining members	3,975.00	
Patron members	3,100.00	20,007.50

Contributions		
General	2,322.00	
Special purposes	.90	2,322.90
Sales of QUARTERLY		967.80
Sales of prints		304.70
Miscellaneous sales		93.55
Interest on savings account		44.55
Miscellaneous revenues		623.96
Total receipts		24,364.96
Less *Expenditures*		
Operating expenses		
Salaries	11,300.00	
Rent	2,400.00	
Telephone	190.78	
Office supplies	510.15	
Postage and express	68.73	
Furniture and equipment	1.55	
Insurance	174.78	
Library expenses	241.15	
Miscellaneous	333.38	15,220.52
Membership and publicity		193.64
Exhibit expenses		.98
Luncheon expenses		66.95
QUARTERLY publication costs		6,739.62
Notes publication costs		950.26
Total expenditures		23,171.97
Excess of receipts over expenditures		1,192.99
Fund balance at beginning of year		252.43
Fund balance at end of year		$ 1,445.42

PUBLICATION FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1950

Sales of publications		$ 274.09
Less Cost of sales		
Beginning inventory	3,325.55	
Ending inventory	3,180.25	145.30
Gross profit from sales		128.79
Less Selling expense		28.06
Net profit from sales		100.73
Interest on savings account		23.56

Net gain to fund	124.29
Fund balance at beginning of year	6,026.93
Fund balance at end of year	$ 6,151.22

LIBRARY FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year Ended December 31, 1950

Receipts		
Sales of duplicate books	$ 980.81	
Contributions	5,880.38	
Interest on savings account	9.53	
Total receipts		6,870.72
Less *Expenditures*		
Purchases		5,876.92
Net increase in fund		993.80
Fund balance at beginning of year		1,338.94
Fund balance at end of year		$ 2,332.74

In Memoriam

LOWELL E. HARDY

Lowell Edwin Hardy, for many years a member of the California Historical Society, died, in his seventy-third year, at his residence in Piedmont April 14, 1951, after a long illness. Mr. Hardy was born in San Francisco but moved to Oakland when he was a child.

His grandfather, Lowell J. Hardy, was a California pioneer, having arrived at San Francisco in the spring of 1850 after sailing around the Horn from Boston. He became an early owner of a portion of the Peralta Rancho on which part of the City of Oakland stands today.

Mr. Lowell E. Hardy took a great interest in the California Historical Society. For a short time he was editor of the QUARTERLY, and, at the time of his death, was a member of the editorial advisory committee.

For many years Mr. Hardy was associated with the firm of Blyth, Witter & Co.; for a portion of this time he was head of the sales department. He was a member of the Bohemian Club, and was secretary of the club during the year 1934-35 and vice-president 1941-42. He retired from his association with Blyth, Witter & Co. in 1927, and thereafter had no active business except a directorship in the Central Bank of Oakland. Mr. Hardy was full of wit and humor and was usually the life of any party he attended. He was fond of field sports, particularly of duck shooting.

He is survived by his widow, Florence Mayhew Hardy; a daughter, Rosemary Hardy of Piedmont; a sister, Mrs. Estelle Jacoby of Hanford; and a brother, George M. Hardy of Oakland. His son, Lowell M. Hardy, died in 1925.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

New Members

(March 1951-May 1951)

Sustaining

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Walter Darling	Portland, Ore.	Warren R. Howell

Active

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Mrs. Griffing Bancroft	La Jolla	Philip Bancroft
Ernest G. Bashor, M.D.	Glendale	Membership Committee
Frederick W. Beinecke	New York City	P. W. Galleher
U. W. Brown	Colusa	R. H. Cross
Lawton Bussman	Eureka	Andrew M. Genzoli and Charles E. Barnum
Miss Olive Craig	San Francisco	Miss Edith Slack
Laurance V. Degnan	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Albert E. Doerr	Pasadena	Membership Committee
Ephraim Dyer	Berkeley	Miss Carmel Riley and Mrs. Clarence Shuey
Carl E. Erickson	Morgan Hill	Allen L. Chickering
G. E. Fullerton	Glendale	Resuming membership
Mrs. E. C. Gill	San Francisco	Louis Stein
S. V. Gunnison	San Anselmo	Aubrey Drury
Harry L. Hanson	Santa Ana	R. H. Cross
Mrs. Chelton Hill	Piedmont	R. H. Cross
Mrs. Wetmore Hodges	Atherton	Malcolm Moss
Mrs. Helen Steadman Hogue	Redding	R. H. Cross
Robert S. Ingram	San Francisco	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. C. P. Lineaweaver	La Jolla	Philip Bancroft
Louisiana State University Library	Baton Rouge	Membership Committee
Ralph B. Marsh	San Mateo	Membership Committee
Charles Miller	Chicago	Membership Committee
Mount Carmel History Club	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Miss Emma M. Nesfield	Pebble Beach	Mrs. Ralph W. Hersey and George H. Cabaniss, Jr.
Pope & Talbot, Inc.	San Francisco	Transfer of membership of George A. Pope, Jr.
O. Kenneth Pryor	Burlingame	T. G. Douglas
Richard C. Queen	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Wendell T. Robie	Auburn	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. Thomas Robins	Philadelphia	Mrs. Naglee Burk
Kernan Robson	San Francisco	Arnold E. Archibald
Mrs. Ella W. Ryan	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
San Joaquin Pioneer and Historical Society	Stockton	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. William N. Speegle	Eureka	R. H. Cross
Miss Edith W. Taylor	Visalia	Clarence L. Fraser and Harold G. Schutt
Arthur Thane	San Francisco	Mrs. James R. Whipple
Utah State Historical Society	Salt Lake City	Membership Committee

Name	Address	Proposed by
Willis G. Watrous, M.D.	San Jose	R. R. Stuart
Mrs. Clara L. Watson	Guerneville	Transfer of membership of C. F. Griffin, M.D.
Donald B. Welch	Santa Barbara	Elbert S. Conner
Charles P. Yale	Pasadena	Continuing membership of Charles Yale
J. Perry Yates	San Francisco	Membership Committee

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Hugh Sanford Cheney Baker's paternal grandfather, Sanford Chase Baker, came to California in the early 1850's and had wide newspaper experience in valley and bay towns, including Vallejo, Red Bluff, Oakdale (where he and his children published the Oakdale *Graphic* for many years), San Francisco, and Sacramento. Hugh S. C. Baker (Stanford, A.B., 1928; Ph.D., 1950), the QUARTERLY's present contributor, was Loomis fellow in American literature at Stanford, 1929-30, and has taught at Stanford and at the University of Utah. He is now associate professor of English and adviser to overseas students at San Francisco State College.

Elwood P. Lawrence (A.B., Kenyon College, Ohio, 1926; Ph.D., Western Reserve University, 1942) has taught at Lehigh University, and is at present associate professor of English at Michigan State College. Mr. Lawrence held a Rockefeller grant during 1944-45. His sabbatical leave, 1949-50, he spent in England, to which he hopes to return in order to continue his examination of records showing Henry George's influence in Great Britain.

Ernest R. May (b. Fort Worth, Texas, 1928) was graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1948 and the following year, 1949-50, was Native Sons of the Golden West fellow in Pacific coast history, U.C.L.A. The university has recently (June 2, 1951) granted him a Ph.D. degree based upon his dissertation on William Jennings Bryan and the first World War, Prof. John W. Caughey, chairman of the committee in charge. Mr. May is now in the navy, attending officer candidate school in Rhode Island. The editors regret that pressure of time and events prevented him from reading the proof of his present paper on Benjamin Parke Avery.

Irving McKee, a native of Oakland, is a graduate of Yale University, from which he holds a Ph.D. degree. During 1943-46, Mr. McKee served overseas in air combat information, and, upon his return, became lecturer in English at the University of California, Berkeley (1946-48). He has been associate professor in the English department at Sacramento State College since 1948. Currently he is writing a life of Hiram Johnson and editing uncollected letters of Alonzo ("Old Block") Delano.

Unusual length having developed in the preceding portions of the QUARTERLY, notes on the new members listed in this issue will appear in September.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886 Reorganized March 27, 1922

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Aubrey Drury, *President*
Joseph R. Knowland, *First Vice-President*
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The San Francisco Bay-Area Press Views Russian Aggression in the Far East, 1903-1905

Including Comment by the Sacramento Union

By Ashbrook Lincoln

Russian policy is the most cruel and despotic in the world. It is not only destroying the independence of other nations but is seeking to crush out race sentiment and race identity. Wherever the iron hand of Russia reaches, free government, free speech, free thought and free exercise of property and personal rights are strangled.... She is the destroyer of liberty and the oppressor of mankind.

This editorial comment was not printed during the present crisis, but in the Oakland *Tribune* of February 16, 1904. A month before, the Sacramento *Union* declared:

> Russia's present position in the Orient is one gained by the worst acts of statecraft combined with arbitrary power, in contempt of treaties, in defiance of the sentiment of Christendom, and in the prospect which it offers, a menace to the peace and happiness of the world.[1]

Still earlier, an editorial in the San Francisco *Call* had pointed out: "While Korea is the immediate victim, too weak to resist, the world is the ultimate sufferer.... Morally the world owes to China and Korea . . . every possible support in this crisis."[2]

The Russian press responded to accusations like these with charges against American spies, greedy American millionaires and the desire of the United States to win hegemony of the world. Russia, said her propagandists, was the champion of universal peace and disarmament. The San Francisco Bay-area press of 1903-1905 was not misled; it hit back at Russian propaganda with phrases such as *red peril*, the *curtain*, the *Ananias of nations*, which have a familiar ring when taken in connection with present-day news items and comment. But there was also in the bay-area editorials of that period a picturesqueness, a wariness with respect to foreign involvement (especially with Great Britain), and a powerful intensity in the condemnation directed toward Russia that at times went beyond our mid-twentieth century circumspection in such matters and that gave to these editors' opinions a place in the history of international thought in California.

At the turn of the century, the San Francisco Bay-area newspapers contained frequent editorials on developments abroad. For example, in 1898 they applauded the victorious war with Spain and the annexation of Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines; they took note of the recognition on September 6, 1899, of U. S. Secretary of State John Hay's "open door" policy for equality of trade with China; they watched the problems of America in the

Philippine insurrection and of Great Britain in the Boer War; they condemned William II's activities leading eventually to Germany's demand for an enlarged "place in the sun." But by 1903, it was the conduct of the Russian bear that aroused more interest in the minds of the bay-region editors than any single development on the world scene. A development in the scientific field, which was to assist these writers in scrutinizing the news from the Orient, had editorial mention in October 1902:

> Much interest is manifested in the fact that the ships carrying, coiled in their holds, the cable which is to extend from this port to Hawaii and thence to the Philippines, are fast approaching the coast. It will not be long, then, before all the American possessions are roped in, and the question of what shall be done with them will be answered.[3]

(Actual opening of communication between the United States and Hawaii occurred on January 1, 1903; six months later, cablegrams could be sent from the Philippines to the United States.)

After the Spanish-American War, American trade with the Chinese province of Manchuria had increased rapidly. By 1901, Manchurian imports from the United States, principally kerosene, cotton goods, and flour, exceeded in value those from Japan and Great Britain combined, and Henry B. Miller was ordered to the open port of Newchang to re-establish a consulate.[4] Upon his arrival, he found Russian military and civil authorities collecting the customs, levying taxes, and dominating judicial functions. This situation had arisen because Russia had not evacuated Manchuria as she promised to do by international agreement upon overthrow of the Boxer regime in 1901. She had, instead, proceeded to reinforce her position in Manchuria by securing concessions from China, which, in the words of the San Francisco *Evening Post*, "lay after suppression of the Boxers like an inert mass." It was then that Russia, who "has a thorough dislike to acquisition by violence in the open when matters can be arranged in the dark . . . moved forward."[5] She had continued to do this in spite of a sharp note of protest, dated February 1, 1902, from Secretary Hay,[6] and, further, in spite of the conclusion of the Anglo-Japanese alliance on February 12, 1902, aimed at halting the Russian advance in the Orient.

To cloak his intentions, Czar Nicholas II signed an agreement with China on April 8, 1902, in which he promised to evacuate Russian troops over a stated period, involving progressive withdrawals, the last soldiers to be removed on October 8, 1903; but Russia did not carry out her troop-withdrawal pledges.[7] She demanded more concessions for herself before further evacuation would take place, and she also required that no new treaty ports should be conceded to other countries. United States envoys both at St. Petersburg and in China were instructed to insist upon the opening of specified Manchurian ports to American trade and to object to the Russian demand that all but Russians be excluded from public service in north China. On April 25, 1903, the San Francisco *Call* said that Washington was showing no inclination to transfer either the *Kentucky* or the *Oregon* (American battleships in Oriental waters) to a point near enough to make it seem as though the United States was joining in any show of force. The *Call*, however, as well as the *Examiner* of the above date, and others of the bay-area press, gave space to rumors that the United States, Great Britain, and Japan would make a joint protest to Russia; but Secretary Hay appears to have believed that this was "out of the question" since "public opinion in this country would not support such a course."[8]

Russian demands on China made front-page news and were editorialized by the San Francisco Bay-area press. Below are given the names of the editors and circulation figures for the journals quoted:

Journal	*Circulation (1903)*	*Editor or President*
S. F. *Evening Bulletin*	49,888	R. A. Crothers
Call	55,063	John D. Spreckels
Chronicle	80,626	M. H. De Young
Evening Post	30,120	Thomas Garrett
Examiner	91,610	William R. Hearst
Pacific Rural Press (S.F.)	Exact figure lacking	E. J. Wickson
Oakland *Tribune*	9,098	William E. Dargie
Sacramento *Union*	8,100	Alfred Holman

(Data taken from Ayer & Sons, *American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, Philadelphia.)

Typical editorial comment was that the demands constituted a "breach of faith"; they proved that the Russians intended to stay in Manchuria in spite of statements to the contrary. The San Francisco *Chronicle* (April 25, 1903) regarded the Russian action as a "demand for the relinquishment, practically, of China's sovereignty in Manchuria and its cession to herself." To the *Call* (April 26, 1903), the Russian demands were "an affront to the United States . . . an insult to our government." Only the *Examiner* dissented from the general editorial opinion. The Hearst wire service from Washington charged that the United States was acting merely as a "catspaw of Britain." The point was enlarged upon: "Every diplomat in Washington, including those in the State Department knows that the only real party in interest in Manchuria is Great Britain. . . . The State Department is engaged in the same old game of interpellating foreign powers indirectly for itself, and primarily in the interest of Great Britain."[9]

On May 6, 1903, the *Call* carried headlines declaring that the czar stood convicted of treaty violation, as evidenced by the official text of the Russian demands, which appeared in the body of the article. The Russian procedure was declared to be "in absolute defiance of the fundamental rules of international intercourse." The czar's diplomats were accused of "shameless mendacity because her representatives had lied for their country with almost fiendish ingenuity."

As for the Russian side, the semi-official *Novoe Vremya* was reported in the San Francisco *Evening Post* of June 5, 1903, as saying that "the American press, notwithstanding its defects, seems to be not only the mirror, but the leader of the American public opinion." The *Syromstnikoff* suggested that since American history books contained nothing about Russian friendship for the United States, the czar's foreign office should publish sketches on the subject, which should be sent to 8,000 American newspapers; a pro-Russian movement would thereupon arise, counteracting the English and Japanese propaganda which had influenced America's "politically unripe population." Such an about-face in the American attitude toward Russia could hardly be achieved, however, while she continued to procrastinate and secretly to prevent China from opening the desired ports. As reported by the San Francisco *Call* of July 14, 1903, the *Novi Krai* [*New World*] used as an excuse for excluding foreigners from Manchuria and postponing the opening of Manchurian ports ". . . the presence of Englishmen and Americans, who, in disguise, are engaged in espionage."

On July 18, 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt wrote to Secretary Hay that he was "thoroughly aroused and irritated" at the Russian conduct in Manchuria and that he was growing more confident that the country would back him up "in going to an extreme in this matter."[10] The *Call* alone seemed ready to back the President to such an extent. It had declared on June 30, 1903, that if the United States ever went to war with Russia, our guns "will be shouldered with the vengeance due and payable to a power that has earned the world's ill will, by lying to her equals and bullying her inferiors." Within a fortnight this aggressive journal went further by saying that it would "not be sorry if some day we had to besom [sweep] her fleet off the face of the waters."

Another month of American pressure on China to open the ports finally achieved a degree of success. On August 13, 1903, China agreed to sign a treaty, on the following October eighth, for the opening of Mukden (also spelled Moukden) and Ta-Tung.[11] But when the deadline for Russia's complete evacuation of Manchuria arrived, the czar's troops still remained. The *Call* of October thirty-first and November second reported that President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay agreed that Russian occupation of Manchuria was "embarrassing to their open door policy," but they were not yet convinced that vigorous action would be popular with the American people.

President Roosevelt's securing of the Panama Canal site occupied the attention of bay-area editors during the first part of November 1903. Then they returned to the subject of Russian aggression in the Far East, which the Sacramento *Union* was convinced had given rise to "a deep-down feeling in the American mind that some day the Eagle has got to have it out with the Bear."[12] Only the San Francisco *Call*, however, went so far as to recommend the use of force:

> [As soon as our treaty is ratified] . . . an American merchant ship should be cleared for

> Moukden, convoyed by a fleet of our warships. If she is refused entry to Moukden, by Russia, conclusions should be tried at once. Our executive recognizes the sovereignty of China over Manchuria, and we should not permit for a moment the attempt by Russia to abridge our right to treat with that sovereignty.[13]

Convinced that the czar did not intend to evacuate Manchuria, and believing that the advance of the Russians into the peninsula of Korea would endanger her national security and ambitions, Japan became alarmed. At the same time she grew belligerent, because she felt confident that Great Britain would support her if any country came to the czar's assistance. Japan's warlike attitude resulted in a warning from the San Francisco *Chronicle* of November 18, 1903, which cautioned her not to have a "childlike faith in Great Britain's sincerity of purpose. . . ." Japan should refrain, said the *Chronicle*, from "foolishly thinking that Great Britain would enter into any agreement for the defense of their special interests and the preservation of the integrity of China which might involve her in a costly war."

On December 31, 1903, the same paper, in referring to the likelihood of war, called the attention of its readers to the fact that both the Russian and the Japanese governments were purchasing supplies here:

> Japan . . . has bought a year's supply of flour from the Stockton mills in this State for the army. . . . Russia has been buying mess meat here all along since the occupation of Manchuria began, and Japan is an old customer of California mills for flour. Another evidence of peace is found in the fact that the local agents of the Japanese steamship line have had no intimation of impending trouble and are not looking for any in the near future.

The oscillation between war and peace came in for comment also by the *Pacific Rural Press* of January 9, 1904:

> Again the wheat market is unsettled by war and weather both pulling in the same direction. Every few days a declaration of war by Japan against Russia is bulletined in the Produce Exchange and the wheat market in particular is advanced. This occurred last Saturday with considerable excitement. Peace was restored and the market sagged. Today (Wednesday), however, the declaration is renewed, and spot wheat is 50 cents to $1 higher and futures very stiff as we go to press.

According to dispatches from the Orient during January 1904, Japan, without declaring war, occupied the seaports of Korea. The *Call* of January seventh felt that Japan was "entirely within her rights," because what she had done was necessary for her own protection. The next day the Oakland *Tribune* argued that Japan could no more allow Russian absorption of Korea than the United States could permit a strong power to annex Cuba. If she submitted, she was "consenting to her own ultimate absorption by Russia."

While the possibility of war was still being discussed, a utility company in the Orient entered into the news. Its welfare became of interest to Californians (and, incidentally, to the U. S. Marines) when it was found that a San Franciscan was involved. The San Francisco *Call* of January 25, 1904, gave the story in detail in a news item from Washington, D. C.:

> The War Department received information today of an attack by a mob of Koreans

> on an electric car . . . because of the fact that it had killed a Korean. . . . The railroad is owned and operated by Americans, H. R. Bostwick of San Francisco and H. Collbran being its principal owners.[14] It runs through the heart of Seoul, the Korean capital.
>
> The guard which made the rescue came from the American legation. It consisted of 100 marines, who were sent there some time ago to be on hand for the protection of Americans and their property. Reinforcement of this guard has been urged and it is believed will be made within a week by details of marines from the Philippines. Conditions in Korea are recognized to be critical and the State Department is keeping in close touch with the situation. . . .
>
> The Korean Government has notified its legation here that it has issued a formal declaration of neutrality as between Russia and Japan in the event of war. . . .

On February 6, 1904, diplomatic relations between Russia and Japan were severed. On the eighth, without a declaration of war, the Imperial Japanese navy made a surprise attack on the Russian fleet near Port Arthur.* The sympathies of the bay-area press were on the side of the "plucky little Jap," as is shown by the following editorial in the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin* of February ninth:

> . . . all the great nations are concerned in the Russian advance, for at every step Russia gobbles up, and takes to herself, markets open to the world. If Russia were to monopolize the trade of all Asia, the property of the other trading nations would be impaired.
>
> Russia's strength lies in the fact that her policy is definite and aggressive, while the other powers are on the defensive and must fight, if at all, on what is practically Russian ground. Russia's position is as strong today as it was in Napoleon's time. The Russian avoids war, when he can, but the plucky little Jap has taken a stand, and Russia must now fight or stop. The sympathies, as well as the interests, of the world are with Japan.

On the tenth of February 1904, a war for the control of east Asia was formally begun.

The same day, the Sacramento *Union* held that the *Japanese* were justified in their attack on the Russian fleet, before formal declaration of war, because Russia had actually committed an "act of war," by failing to evacuate Manchuria on the day agreed upon (Oct. 8, 1903). She had delayed negotiations so that she could rush supplies to the Pacific, edge her armies toward the Korean frontier, and send her warships to reconnoiter along the Korean coast.

As has happened of late, the bay-area editors became commentators on military strategy. The *Evening Post* of February 10 and 12, 1904, labeling the attack on the Russian fleet a "master stroke," declared:

> The showing made by the Russians is, from a military standpoint, disgraceful. The mere fact that they were caught napping when war had been menacing them for weeks

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* When an analogous surprise attack was made over Hawaiian waters a decade ago, the effect on the bay-area press, as elsewhere, was electric. Said the *Examiner* of Dec. 8, 1941: "Well, fellow Americans, we are in the war and we have got to win it. . . . The worst thing about the war with Japan is that it will divide our efforts and prevent us from rendering the all out aid to England that we were doing and planning further to do. But we will still manage to keep Britain going with our right hand while we poke Japan in the nose with our left. . . ."

> is enough to bring her commander-in-chief and the captains of her vessels before a court-martial for gross neglect of duty. Such carelessness and incompetency are military enormities for which the death sentence would be none too severe. . . . The more the details of the Japanese tactics are scrutinized the more admirable they seem.
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> * * * * *
>
> To await the declaration of war before opening hostilities is not the general practice of nations, either civilized or uncivilized. The military doctrine is that when you have made up your mind to fight you strike as soon as you are ready, and if you can do so when your adversary is not ready, so much the better. To hit a blow as quickly, as suddenly and as effectively as possible is the proper policy. The whole object of war is to defeat the foe, and to achieve this end it is necessary to take advantage of his weaknesses. This is what the Japanese have done, and they are entirely within the limits of civilized warfare.

The war was followed, week after week, by the bay-area press, with banner headlines, full-page reports, maps, drawings of fortifications, and the commentary of professional military and naval men, such as captains A. T. Mahan and Richmond Hobson, Admr. F. T. Bowles, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, and also with stories from the Orient by Jack London, Richard Harding Davis and Oscar King Davis. The editors, on their part, continued to point out to their readers the dangers in the situation. When the Russian press, for instance, proclaimed that its country was the champion of Christianity fighting against pagan Japan, the Oakland *Tribune* of February 16, 1904, derided the notion but saw the necessity of a counter offensive in ideas:

> It is the duty of every lover of liberty to lend a helping hand and a cheering voice to the champions of liberty no matter what gods they may worship or what colored pigment stains their skins. The rights and wrongs of a quarrel are not determined by the mode of worship of the combatants; besides, Russian policy is opposed to the fundamental precepts of the faith the Muscovites profess.

Some members of the press were convinced that the advance into Manchuria was part of the Russian plan first to conquer China, then India, Persia, and all Asia. The grandiose ideas of Russia, the "Muscovite menace," would not let her stop at control of one coast of the Pacific but would push her onward until she became "mistress of the world."[15] As she pushed on, her Cossacks slaughtered men, women, and children. In the *Call's* opinion (Feb. 18, 1904), "No fourfooted thing, no reptile that crawls crookedly, and no bird of prey that flies in the air was ever guilty of the atrocities of the Russian soldiery."

An editorial in the *Examiner* of February 23, 1904, contrasted the loyalty of the populace under the rulers of the two belligerents:

> Those who hope for the victory of little Japan have one great fact to comfort them: In Japan all minds are passionately patriotic and devoted to the government, eager for its success.
>
> In Russia it is ignorance, servile stupidity that sings "God save the Czar" when it sees long lines of political offenders, dressed in white, vanishing into Siberia. If the Czar wins he must win without the sympathy of intelligent men, even in his own country. If the Japanese lose they will be defeated in spite of a patriotic, united, determined peoples obstinate defense.

> . . . in the long run, all parts and all peoples of the earth are tied together. The destruction of life in Japan and Russia will mean so many fewer mouths for us to feed in the future. We shall do a rushing business now, but our customers will die by the tens of thousands. And we shall suffer with the rest of humanity, through the reintroduction of useless, brutal war as a means of settling quarrels or of seizing property.

Russia's claim that she represented the white race in its struggle against the yellow peril was bandied about among the editors during 1904. The San Francisco *Bulletin* of February twenty-fourth called the yellow peril a "mere bugaboo, not nearly as near or as real as the Slavic peril" – a warning which was echoed by the *Examiner's* editor, who declared that Europe had more to fear from a "Red Peril," since an aggressive war might be started "at any moment by an insanely irresponsible Czar."[16] In the opinion of the Oakland *Tribune* of March fourth, paganism could not be applied to the Japanese. A correspondent in Seoul was quoted as saying that the women were safe and that the Japanese were paying for whatever they took. "Contrast this," said the *Tribune*,

> with the conduct of the Russian soldiers . . . during the march to Pekin. The Russian troops showed themselves even more barbarous than the hordes of Alaric or Attila. By their unadulterated barbarism they shamed the other Christian troops in their company. The Pagan Japs set an example for Christian nations to follow.
>
> The thief, the robber, the murderer and oppressor cannot claim Christian sympathy.

While the ideologies of the combatants were occupying the bay-area editors, the effect of Russian aggression on the commerce at San Francisco was receiving particular attention in the March 5, 1904, issue of the *Pacific Rural Press:*

> . . . Some weeks ago we told of the millions of pounds of beef which would be assembled here for shipment to Russian army bases. Three million pounds of beef had been contracted by the Russian Government, and the first two installments were shipped from San Francisco on the steamers Coptic and Corea. The beef was lost by seizure by the Japanese, and the local sellers received orders almost at the last moment to remove the third shipment from the steamer China, in which it had been loaded. The result was that the beef was hustled out of the steamer again and must go forward some other way.

Japan might interfere with our products reaching their destination, but her cause had the community's sympathy, even without taking into account the large orders for grain, etc., she was placing with San Francisco exporters. The end of the first month of war saw, in fact, no lessening in the degree and amount of criticism leveled at Russia and her methods. More and more did the editors caution against credulity and warn of dangers to come. The *Evening Post* of that date transcribed on its editorial page a column from the New York *Sun*, entitled "With a Sword in One Hand and Sugar in the Other," on which the *Post's* editor commented thus:

> When the Russians seized Manchuria, nearly 5000 Chinese perished in the massacre at Blagovestchensk. . . . But so indulgent were the authorities after the massacre that in a few months all the Chinese merchants who had fled from the town, expecting never to return, were back doing business at their old stands. . . .

For all their derision of Russian propaganda, the bay-area papers saw to it that their readers were kept informed of the latest blasts from that source. The *Evening Post* of March 19, 1904, quoted the *Novoe Vremya* when it accused "the mighty American Croesus, the trusts" of erecting high tariff walls that ruined the American market for European trade and compelled Europe to turn to the Far East as an outlet for her goods. The American trusts followed, said the *Novoe Vremya;* they occupied Hawaii and conquered the Philippines from Spain. Now the American capitalists were determined to destroy European trade in the Orient:

> Over Japanese prostrate bodies America will get a foothold on the Asiatic continent and eventually her millionaires will get the Chinese viceroys under their thumbs, and American machinery will convert Asia into a factory which will swamp the West with the products of Chinese cheap labor, exclude Europe from the Pacific and leave her a prey to the vampire – Socialism.

By the fall of 1904, one finds the bay-area editors speculating as to the consequences of victory by either belligerent. The *Pacific Rural Press* of September tenth of that year, considering it likely that "the Russians would be pushed beyond the open country before the winter closes in," continued thus:

> . . . One cannot refrain from wondering what change will take place in the world's conception of Russia as a factor in the European situation after she has been knocked out by the Japanese in her imperial calculations on the east coast of Asia. Russia seems to have been as little fitted for her issue as Spain was for hers in 1898. . . . And then what of the Japanese and the attack of megalocephalia [big head] which they are likely to suffer after their victory? Shall we be able to live with them just across the water from us? . . .

A fortnight later (Sept. 25, 1904), the *Call* predicted that, if the Russians won, they would gain mastery over the 500,000,000 people of east Asia, they would control the world, and "centuries to come would see no peace except in the same slavery that Napoleon forced upon continental Europe."

With the coming of spring 1905, however, the chances of Japan looked bright, and the hint of apprehension in the *Pacific Rural Press* editorial, quoted above, was taken up by the *Evening Post* of March fourth:

> At present we laugh at this "cocky" demeanor of the little brown man. By and by we will not laugh; we will be annoyed at first, then irritated, then angry. For the Japanese will attempt to compel us to treat him not only as an equal in all matters pertaining to international affairs, but he will assume to dictate to the rest of the world regarding the politics of Asia.

Then came news of the battle around Mukden, and headlines, such as those in the Sacramento *Union* of March 7 and 9, 1905, read: "Oyama's Strategy Amazes War Office," and, "Russians Are in Full Retreat Closely Pursued by Victorious Japanese Army." In the interest of humanity, however, the editor of the *Union* expressed, on the tenth, his wish that the defeat of the Russians were more complete:

> If there had been a decisive contest at Mukden – another Jena or another Sedan – even Russia would be forced to call a halt. Such a catastrophe must come in the end. . . .

> It is the foolish theory of those who dominate the mind of the Czar that the revolution at home may be controlled if only it may be made to appear that the Russian cause is not lost in Manchuria. . . . Perhaps on the whole the interest of the world . . . will be best served by a course which emphasizes the failure of the Russian dynasty and exhausts the powers of the country. Perhaps the best thing that can happen is to humble, and all but destroy this aggressive colossus, the very sound of whose name has made the world tremble for half a century.

This, the reader will remember, was written in 1905.

The news from Mukden impelled the editor of the *Post,* writing also on March tenth, to extend the gloom of his previous prediction, quoted above, with these words:

> It has been the fond hope of the American and the British shipper that when Japan should drive Russia out of China the door of the Orient would swing wide open. This is not the intention of Japan. The door of Asia will be open only to the manufacturers of Japan. That will shut out the bulk of trade from America and Great Britain. Japan will be the autocrat of all trade in the Far East.

Impressed by other aspects of the Mukden battle, the *Call* of March fourteenth had this to say:

> None can at present foresee the final result. . . . Kuropatkin's career is probably ended. He left Moscow boasting that he would dictate terms of peace in Tokio, but an army of Buddists, Shintoists and Christians, led by the Presbyterion soldier Oyama, has made that boast a vain thing, and the worn and hard pressed Russian will never see Tokio as a conqueror.

The *Call's* editor (also on March 14) was interested in what was going on behind the front. This was an engaging subject (viz., the *Examiner's* editorial of Feb. 23, 1904, see above, which contrasted the reasons for loyalty or disloyalty within the warring countries). Said the *Call:*

> The Czar's voice is still for war, but his best army is beaten and another must be wrenched from the homes of a discontented and unwilling people. They must be whipped into trains by Cossacks and shipped like cattle thousands of miles, to fall in a war that is of no interest to them.

The question now became: what were the chances for ending the war? This task was to be assumed by President Theodore Roosevelt, who, on May 10, 1905, wrote to Sir George Trevelyan, "I like the Russian people, but I abhor the Russian system of government and I cannot trust the word of those at the head."[17] Within two weeks of his letter, the victory of Admr. Heichachiro Togo over the Russian fleet in the Korean Strait (May 27, 1905) brought the American president a stride closer to his goal.

To the editor of the *Chronicle* (May 30, 1905),

> . . . the naval battle of the Corean strait will go down in history as the greatest encounter on water in modern times. The battles of Manila bay and Santiago sink into insignificance compared with it, owing to the superior power and magnitude and the greater number of vessels engaged in it. Besides, it is the only naval battle fought in modern times by modern ships in the open sea and without the intervention of land forts at any stage.

This great victory for the Japanese was taken by the *Call* of the same date as the occasion to peer again behind the lines, not only at the Russian people themselves but at the subject nationalities:

> If Russia ask a truce, it is the end. . . . If she do not, her internal troubles are sure to multiply. . . . Every illiterate mujik, every starving mendicant, every student that has been lashed with Cossack whips, every Finn deprived of his liberty and language, and every Pole who remembers how order came to reign in Warsaw, from opposite motives will raise combined voice and fist against the autocracy. With Japan at the circumference and domestic discontent at the center the grand ducal boast of war to the bitter end will be vain words only.

Whether there would be any Russian grand dukes left at all, would be brought to a head, in the opinion of the San Francisco *Chronicle* of June 7, 1905, by the ukase creating General Trepoff, "the best hated man in Russia," dictator of the empire. This was done by the czar without consulting his ministers. They resented it, said the *Chronicle*, and were sending in their resignations. Besides, by prohibiting the meeting of the all-Russan district and provincial administrative assembly (zemstvo), the czar was abrogating his recent grant of freedom of speech. He did this because he feared that, at the meeting, the members of the zemstvo would introduce resolutions calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities with Japan. The czar's course foreboded no good. "It was, in fact, inviting his own death by violence and precipitating the overthrow of his dynasty." At this point the *Chronicle's* editor made, in the light of present-day political conditions in Russia, a prophetic reservation when he added, ". . . although the country may not be ripe for any except autocratic rule."

As to the peacemaker, Roosevelt was finding his role extremely difficult, especially when he had, after another month, become even more disgusted with the czar's government than he was in his letter to Trevelyan, cited above. Writing to Henry Cabot Lodge on June 5 and 16, 1905, he said:

> Russians . . . are hopeless creatures with whom to deal. They are utterly insincere and treacherous; they have no conception of the truth, no willingness to look facts in the face, no regard for others of any sort or kind . . . [and] so shifty [they might] break off negotiations at any moment."[18]

This mistrust, however, did not interfere with the President's efforts; on August ninth, representatives of the two belligerents sat down in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to the work of ending the war. The points at issue received analysis by the bay-area editors. On the twenty-sixth the *Examiner* pointed out that though Russia could "retire into her illimitable steppes," she had a vulnerable point along the Baltic coast:

> . . . The Japanese have both the navy and the daring to invade that sea and to bombard St. Petersburg. Even now covert threats of such action are heard. But there enters the very serious question of possible interference by other nations of Europe. In those threats probably lies the reason for the Russian hint that a continuation of the war would mean the embroiling of all Europe.

August thirtieth, the *Examiner* commented at length on "The Peace of

Portsmouth." As a rule, the editor said, the people of the United States sympathized strongly with Japan. There was a "limited commercial class" that inclined toward Russia, because they feared Japanese competition. He noted that "since the conference went into session the tact and good-fellowship of the Russian envoys, from M. Witte down, undoubtedly influenced sentiment in this country to a remarkable degree." Not so in the bay area (in spite of the opposition to Japanese farm laborers, who were considered "objectionable immigrants").[19] Continuing, the editor said of the "gallant" fight put up by the Japanese:

> At every point at which these little men have met the Russians they have whipped them, on land and on sea.... Back from the camps and battlegrounds of Korea and Manchuria have come to the wise nations of Europe and to our own nation reports which have revolutionized or will revolutionize our methods of military and naval strategy, and particularly of hygiene in camp and hospitals ... the Japanese have won the respect of the world....

All during the conference the Oakland *Tribune* insisted that Japan was playing a "magnanimous role."[20] To the San Francisco *Call* the demands for the payment of an indemnity by Russia were "moderate and reasonable," since Japan should not be denied "the fruits of her victory in a war that was forced upon her for self-defense."[21] Quoting again from the *Examiner's* editorial of August thirtieth:

> No concession which they make to-day [in paring down the amount of the indemnity] will blind the eyes of the world to the fact that they stand as victors.... And if the terms of peace should seem in any way to favor the clever and tactful diplomats of the Czar, then so much more is to the credit of Japan, which, having all the glory of successful warfare by land and by sea, having its armies in the territory claimed by Russia, with no Russian soldier ever in its own territory save as a prisoner, possessing its own fleet ... still in response to the desire of the world for peace, makes honorable concessions to an honorable adversary.

The treaty of peace between Russia and Japan was signed on September 5, 1905, at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Of President Roosevelt's part in its inception and termination, the Oakland *Tribune* said:

> Roosevelt has achieved the most signal victory for civilization and humanity in human annals. His daring but friendly initiative brought Russia and Japan into conference, his persistence twice prevented the conference breaking up without result. When the envoys on both sides despaired of coming to an agreement the President did not lose hope, nor did he cease to urge both sides with friendly counsel the necessity for reaching an understanding which would restore peace to the nations and prevent further bloodshed. . . . In the role of peacemaker Theodore Roosevelt has eclipsed all past performances and takes his place as the most conspicuous and influential ruler of his day.[22]

Only the *Evening Post* of the bay-area press expressed doubts as to the treaty's true nature:

> You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear; neither does the leopard change his spots. Russia has not relinquished her national purpose; and she is still determined to find an ice-free outlet to the broad ocean; she is still determined to dominate the destiny of the Far East. But she can wait.... [Her] national policy is to wait. Everything she possesses

has come to her by waiting. . . . She knows now what she has to contend with, and in the revolving years she will forge for herself a new and better armor, she will put a finer temper in her sword, she will marshal an army with more banners and fewer shouting captains.[23]

NOTES

(Unless otherwise stated, all references to the press are to editorials. "San Francisco" has been abbreviated to "S. F.")

1. Sacramento *Union*, Jan. 13, 1904.

2. S. F. *Call*, Dec. 11, 1903.

3. *Pacific Rural Press*, Oct. 18, 1902.

4. *U. S. Consular Reports*, LXIX, 1902, 470 ff, "Trade of Manchuria in 1901"; *ibid.*, LXXIII, 1903, 353, on "Russian Enterprise in the Orient"; *see also* Consul Miller's tabular report on American imports at Niuchwang for the years 1899, 1900, 1901, *ibid.*, LXVIII, 599.

5. The *Evening Post* of Feb. 19, 1904, gave an historical account of events leading to the impasse in the Orient.

6. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, year 1902 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Dept. of State), pp. 275-76.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-83; and year 1903, pp. 49-57, 708-709, regarding political situation in Manchuria.

8. Alfred L. Dennis, *Adventures in American Diplomacy, 1896-1906* (New York, 1928), p. 356.

9. S. F. *Examiner*, April 27, 28, 30, and May 7, 1903.

10. Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

11. . . . *Foreign Relations* (as in note 6 above), year 1903, pp. 71-73. It was later decided to substitute An-tung for Ta-tung, *ibid.*, pp. 74-77.

12. Sacramento *Union*, Nov. 13, 1903.

13. S. F. *Call*, Nov. 2, 1903. For an editorial review of the Manchurian problem, see *ibid.*, May 4, 1904.

14. This instance not only of investment of bay-area capital in, but also of actual management of, Korean enterprises is borne out by the fact that neither of these men is mentioned in the S. F. directories 1900-1905. In 1907, Henry R. Bostwick appears as a capitalist; there is no mention of Collbran nor of the Orient; but in 1908 and in 1909, Frank F. Bostwick is listed as agent of the American Korean Electric Co., while Henry R. appears as in real estate, both Bostwicks being partners in the (apparently local) real-estate firm of Barker, Knickerbocker and Bostwick, 171 Second St., S. F. Also in 1909, the Collbran-Bostwick Development Co. at the same address is mentioned for the first time in that decade. It appears again in the 1910 edition (at 143 Second St.), and Frank F. has taken on the business designation of agent for the Collbran-Bostwick Development Co. and Seoul Mining Co. By 1911-1912, the Collbran-Bostwick concern has disappeared from the directories; Frank F. is merely an agent (not specified), and Henry R. is listed as a capitalist, both at 57 Post St.

15. *Cf.* San Jose *Herald*, Feb. 16 & 17, 1904; S. F. *Examiner*, Feb. 23, 1904; and S. F. *Call*, Feb. 18, 1904.

16. S. F. *Examiner*, March 3, July 6, 1904.

17. Joseph B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and His Time, Shown in His Own Letters* (New York, 1920), I, 381.

18. *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot*

Lodge, 1884-1908 (New York, 1925), II, 134-52.

19. *See* S. F. *Chronicle*, June 7, 1905, special editorial written at time U. S. commissioner of immigration was passing through S. F. on way to Honolulu; discussion of what term "objectionable immigrant" meant in California.

20. Oakland *Tribune*, Aug. 22, 1905.

21. S. F. *Call*, Aug. 25, 1905.

22. Oakland *Tribune*, Aug. 30, 1905.

23. S. F. *Evening Post*, Aug. 31, 1905.

The Reminiscences of Joseph D. Grant*

ADAM GRANT

Adam Grant was born at Lairg, in Sutherland, Scotland, on September 24, 1830. When I visited Lairg, some years ago, I found a pretty little clachan (village) clustered about a kirk which overlooks Loch Shin (long and narrow like a fiord); and not far away is the coast town of Dornoch, famous for its golf links and as the seat of the laird of Skibo, the late Andrew Carnegie.

If I had wondered why my father left his native land, I soon found out. Optimistic crofters grow oats near Lairg, and it is true that the grandfather of the present duke of Sutherland attempted to grow oranges. Sheep do well on the lower foothills. But east, west, and north of the tiny town are great windswept moors where a man can wander for hours without spying a single shieling (small cottage). Above and beyond these are the mountains. Crofters have tried to live in this wild country, the natural home of the grouse and the tall red deer, and have failed. A Scot hates to leave Scotland. My father left Lairg because he realized that the banks and braes of Lairg were not bonnie, for all their steeping in history and tradition: Picts' houses, chambered tumuli, rise out of Loch Naver; and here and there are reminders of the Norsemen. Although today three-fourths of the inhabitants of this county of Scotland speak Gaelic better than English, there runs in them a strong Nordic strain, indicated physically in the bright blue eyes and fair complexion of many of the people.

According to ethnologists, the Sutherland Highlanders are the tallest men in Europe; but Adam Grant, fair of complexion and hair, was only of middle height though strongly built. Eloquent testimony of the martial bent of Clan Grant is the crest of one branch of the family: a hand brandishing a broadsword, with the motto, "Stand fast, stand sure!" The Grants of Lairg, however, have as their emblem a mountain surmounted by a forest; and when Adam Grant, a sapling of some fourteen years, left his native heather, he carried with him little more than the promise implied in the family emblem to stand fast and sure.

Upon arrival in America, he was hailed by his uncle, William Murray, as "a braw Hieland laddie," and was put to work as an apprentice in his drygoods business in Buffalo, N. Y. Then came news of the discovery of gold in California and Adam Grant took ship for Panama. In a conflict between Americans and the natives while crossing the Isthmus, young Adam nearly lost his life. No sooner was this danger passed than he was stricken with fever but was nursed back to health by a lifelong friend, "Tony" Easton,* who watched over him instead of boarding the ship on which he had taken passage for San Francisco.

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* Joseph D. Grant, son of Adam Grant, died in San Francisco on February 19, 1942, at the age of eighty-three. For a review of his life, *see* Aubrey Drury, "In Memoriam," this Quarterly, XXI (March 1942), 93-94. The chapters from J. D. Grant's "Reminiscences" printed here are those that pertain to his business activities.

By June 1850, Adam Grant, recovered in strength, passed through the Golden Gate into the harbor of San Francisco. The rush to the mines was at its height and scores of ships lay at anchor. So many were hastening to the mines that mercantile concerns were no less short-handed than the deserted vessels in port. Adam heard that sometimes it was necessary to stand in deep water while panning for gold; he was warned that, after his recent fever, exposure of this kind might prove fatal. One gold seeker, John Studebaker, followed his trade of wheelwright and made a fortune building wheelbarrows. In like manner, Adam Grant decided to "sell red shirts to miners."

He presented himself at the drygoods store of William Jensen, seeking employment. When asked if he could speak Spanish, Grant replied: "No, but I can speak Gaelic." The experience he had had with his uncle in Buffalo was a genuine asset, however, and Jensen took him on at $50 a month. The next month the amount was raised to $250; in the third came an offer of partnership, which he declined, having other prospects in view.

Jensen's store was at Jackson and Sansome streets, then near the waterfront though now far inland. An evil element, known as the "Hounds" and "Sydney Coves," had been attracted to the west coast by the chance of finding gold. One day Adam Grant was absent from the store, leaving the proprietor alone. Ruffians entered, sandbagged Jensen and robbed the store. This murderous assault was one of the immediate causes of the formation of the Vigilance Committee of 1851, and Grant was the first witness to testify. He was examined by Hall McAllister, but because of lack of sufficient evidence the suspects were released.

After the robbery of Jensen's establishment, Grant took employment with Eugene Kelly & Co., a wholesale drygoods firm established in 1850 by Eugene Kelly, Joseph A. Donohoe and Daniel T. Murphy. Their first store was on Montgomery Street, near Clay (subsequent site of Antoine Borel & Co.), but in 1853 they moved to the northwest corner of Sacramento and Sansome. In 1858, Kelly and Donohoe, having amassed fortunes, withdrew into the banking business, and the wholesale drygoods firm of Murphy, Grant & Co. was formed, to hold for more than half a century a leading place in the commercial development of the west. Thus did Adam Grant start out in his own enterprise. In 1856, he was married to Emma F. Gummer. I was born on March 28, 1858.

My mother had come as a young girl to California with her parents, Joseph Channing Gummer and Sarah Davis Gummer, both English. They sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and on to Sydney, New South Wales; thence to Auckland, New Zealand, where Gummer became a planter of hemp. But an uprising of the Maoris and the burning of their house caused them to leave. Conditions were little better in the Fiji Islands, the natives of which were cannibals. In troubles with the natives at Levuka, the family was abandoned by the other white residents. Just as the Fiji warriors were holding an ominous council in their thatched hut, a rescue party arrived and the Gummers were saved. From Fiji they sailed to Tonga, thence to Tahiti, and to Honolulu. When gold was discovered in California in 1848, Joseph Gummer went to investigate, and the following year was joined by his family. They brought with them the shell of a house, as none was to be had in San Francisco.

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* Easton became a well-known citizen and married the sister of the wife of D. O. Mills, San Francisco banker.

My father's business prospered. When the Civil War began, Murphy, Grant & Co. bought all the stock that the credit of the company would stand. Their purchases, made in New York, gave the firm an abundance of goods at bottom prices. The goods were sold for gold, and, when the government began to issue currency, gold went to a premium (at one time 250%) and the fortune of the partners was made. In 1868, they moved their establishment to the northeast corner of Sansome and Bush streets — a location known in earlier days as Happy Hollow, the congregating place of the outlaws, the Hounds, mentioned above. By the late 1860's, however, it had become the center of the city's wholesale drygoods trade, and so remained till the fire of 1906. Across the street, where the Standard Oil Building now stands, was the old Cosmopolitan Hotel.

Murphy, Grant & Co. became the largest drygoods store in the city, and indeed in the west, as San Francisco was the distributing point for all the territory west of the Rocky Mountains. At the height of its career, it transacted millions of dollars in business annually.

For a time our family resided in the Rincon Hill district, then the fashionable section of San Francisco; and also for a year or so at the popular Occidental Hotel. In 1874, we moved to 1112 Bush Street, my father's home for exactly thirty years. The greater part of the time he walked down Bush Street every business day to his office at the corner of Sansome.

In politics, Adam Grant was a Republican, supporting the Union cause at a time when a strong Southern influence permeated the state. When Gen. Ulysses S. Grant came to San Francisco on his round-the-world tour (1877-1880), my father served on the welcoming committee, and learned that the President's forebears were from the same part of Scotland as his own.

The senior partner in the pioneer drygoods company, Daniel T. Murphy, died in London in 1891, and the interest of his family was purchased by my father, who became the president of the corporation and the sole owner of the enterprise. He believed in concentrating his attention mainly on drygoods. But he found time to serve as a director in the old San Francisco Gas

& Electric Co. (before hydroelectric development); as director also in the Bank of California; and in his later years he was head of the Donohoe, Kelly Banking Co., established by his early associates. At the time of his death, he was a director of the Security Savings Bank.

Adam Grant died on March 21, 1904. Commenting on his career, the San Francisco *Argonaut* said:

> Adam Grant was recognized as one of the foremost merchants and bankers on the Pacific Coast. He possessed great business sagacity, and his judgment on financial matters was unerring, making his advice much sought. He was devoted to the interests of San Francisco and California, and was at the front of every movement for the betterment of conditions here. He had an absolutely upright character, and his business associates considered his word in any matter equivalent to his signature. He was as loyal a friend as ever lived, permitting no business or other consideration to interfere with his affections. No worthy charity ever made a vain appeal to him.

On the site of his early business establishment, stands, as a memorial to these attributes, the present Adam Grant Building.*

PETROLEUM

For more than a century the existence of petroleum in California has been known. The Indians used the crude stuff to cement basketwork and to mend their *metates* or grinding-mortars. Early Mission padres utilized *brea* or asphalt found near Los Angeles, employing it to make leak-proof roofs. But for a long time the adaptability of California petroleum for fuel was not recognized.

After the oil excitement broke out in Pennsylvania in 1859, men who had been in the Titusville oil-fields wandered to California, learned of the presence of oil-seepages and prospected the territory. Less than ten years after the discovery strike in Pennsylvania, the first producing well was drilled in California, at Newhall near Ventura. The second producing well was put down in 1870 in Pico Canyon by the Pacific Coast Oil Company, the predecessor of the present Standard Oil Company of California.

But lack of capital made a runt of the new industry. San Francisco was the only important money-center in the west, and San Francisco capitalists, while cheerfully willing to venture vast sums in the hazardous gold-mining industry so familiar to them, held back from petroleum because of its uncertainty. A leading San Francisco newspaper rebuked the editor of a Ventura sheet for believing "that the oil found in the vicinity of San Buenaventura could be reduced and placed in the market as a first-class burning fluid."

Yet the pioneers of the oil industry had faith. Production had been confined to the Santa Clara Valley of the South (in Ventura County); after 1880 oil-derricks began to appear also in Los Angeles County. In 1893, a prospector picked up a tarry handful of *brea* near West Lake Park, and, as a result, petroleum was discovered in the city of Los Angeles. From that beginning sprang the tremendous prosperity of Los Angeles and southern California. Within recent years the big bonanza of oil production has been in the so-called Los Angeles Basin, such fields as Signal Hill, Torrance, Richfield, Santa Fe Springs and Huntington Beach.*

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* The first six stories were built in 1910; in 1928, eight more were added, bringing the building to its present height.

In 1896 came the first important production of petroleum in the San Joaquin Valley region, and, with this, more San Francisco capitalists became interested in the petroleum industry. In the Kern River oil-field, just north of Bakersfield, the first well began producing in 1899.

There was cut and thrust in those early San Joaquin boom oil-towns. Guerilla warfare between rival groups was not uncommon; disputes were enlivened with gun-play. The leaders – the pioneers busy building up the new industry – were strong individualists.

About this time there strode into the arena a stalwart figure well fitted by character and experience to cope with any conditions, a personage destined to loom large in the public eye – John Barneson. It has been my privilege to know him intimately, and because he typifies the epic spirit which informed and stimulated our petroleum industry, I give here an account of my friend's life.

A scion of hardy seafaring folk, Barneson was born in the northern coast village of Wick, Scotland, on New Year's Day 1862. Wick is about fifty miles from Lairg whence my forebears came. At six months, he was on his way with his parents to Australia. His father was a sea-captain, and under him the boy got his sea-legs. At fourteen, he became an apprentice seaman on a windjammer trading between English, Australian, and Chinese ports. He took part in many of the races of the tea ships between Shanghai and London; the rivalry was keen, because the first ships in port received the highest price for the cargo.

Aboard the *Woollahra*, one of the fastest clippers of the time, he raced against the *Black Adder*, *Forward Ho* and others. As first mate of the *Woollahra* in 1882, he made his first voyage to San Francisco. A year later, on reaching his majority, he received in London his master's certificate – a captain at twenty-one.

After engaging in the Pacific trade for some years, Barneson left the sea in 1890, but continued in the shipping business on Puget Sound. When the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, he was placed in command of the U. S. army transport *Arizona*, said to be the only vessel he ever commanded which was not a sailing-ship. The *Arizona* carried troops to the Philippines, and, so notable a record did he achieve as commander, that during the period of the Philippine Insurrection he was called to San Francisco and made U. S. marine superintendent, with full charge of all transports conveying the thousands of troops to and from the Philippine Islands.

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*This was written in 1940.

Established in San Francisco, he left the transport service, and became an owner of trading vessels. One enterprise, in which he was senior partner, controlled a fleet of whaling steamers on the Alaskan coast. With stations ashore, the long voyages of former times were avoided and the whaling business reduced to a system.

All this time John Barneson had been developing a big idea. The coaling of vessels was costly and difficult, and he conceived the plan of utilizing petroleum as fuel. In vain he sought to have the army-transport service change its vessels into oil-burners. Naval experts laughed. Isaac F. Marcosson, in his book, *The Black Golconda: The Romance of Petroleum* [New York and London, 1924, pp. 174-75], remarks, "Captain Barneson early saw and urged the immense value of petroleum fuel to the American Navy. In this respect he emulated the service of the late Lord Fisher, whose advocacy of oil for the British Grand Fleet led to an epoch-making transition."

Finally Barneson converted the Matson steamer *Enterprise*, on the Honolulu run, into an oil-burner. Even when the experiment proved triumphantly successful, the old prejudice of reactionary shipowners lingered on.

But assured of the practicability of fueling steamers with oil, Barneson turned his attention to oil production. Invading the San Joaquin Valley, he and his associates built an oil-transport pipe-line from Coalinga to the port of Monterey, 114 miles distant. This was the first pipe-line in California that was not a field gathering-line. The mossbacks declared that it couldn't be done — that heavy California petroleum could not be transported over such distances in pipe-lines. Barneson showed that it could.

From now on he gave undivided attention to petroleum development, operating for the most part in the Coalinga and Central Midway fields. In 1910 the Esperanza Consolidated Oil Company was formed under his leadership; the "hope" (signified by its name) never failed.

In 1912, this company and other interests were formed into the General Petroleum Company, which from the first took an important part in the development of our oil resources. In the organization of this company it was my happy privilege to be a member of the board of directors.

At the clubs where we were members, I had met John Barneson, and was much attracted by his personality, but real knowledge of the man began when we were fellow-yachtsmen, sailing our craft out of San Francisco Bay. An enthusiastic "wet-bob," he braved the dirtiest weather.

One incident revealing his strength and determination I recall vividly. When he was in port, a huge hulking fellow from the yacht's galley, a son-of-a-gun of a sea cook, reeled towards us brandishing a butcher's knife. Barneson spun him round, hurled him from the yacht onto the wharf and — chuckled. But this for John was child's play. At Tahiti once, when his crew deserted on the night before sailing, he rounded them up, placed them in irons, and with his handful of officers manning the ship put to sea. At another time he quelled a mutiny single-handed, bringing the rebels to their knees.

Here was the right sort to face the storms of those early experimental days; ". . . he brought the General Petroleum safely into harbor after the concern had narrowly escaped the rocks more than once," affirms Marcosson [*ibid.*, pp. 173-74]; and, during the troubled period at the beginning of World War I, our skipper's steady hand at the helm enabled us to weather hurricanes which sent to the bottom so many others.

The worst storm took place in our office, when John was in London dealing with a Scotch syndicate. During his absence, our financing was done by another officer, an impassioned optimist and the most persuasive of talkers. He assured us that three million dollars would make all our dreams come true. Imagine our feelings a few weeks later when this same silver-tongued gentleman insisted that the raising of another three million was absolutely necessary. After the board of directors' meeting, several — so I'm told — were carried out on stretchers. Personally, I can't vouch for the truth of this story, because I, like the hunter who followed a wounded grizzly bear into thick brush, up and died there and then like a man!

In the middle of 1916, to succeed the former company there was established the General Petroleum Corporation. Of this I was made first vice-president, actively sharing in its direction as an officer and a member of the executive committee. The corporation held and developed acreage in practically all the principal oil fields of California. An immense refining plant had been established at Vernon, near Los Angeles, and a remarkable pipe line (owned by a subsidiary) extended from the Central Midway district across Tejon Pass and down to that company's refinery and tidewater, a distance of 184 miles. Another pipe line led from Lebec to Mojave, where the company supplied oil for the fuel requirements of the Santa Fe Railway (a pioneer in the burning of oil in locomotives). Several hundred miles of other pipe lines were also owned by the corporation.

At Los Angeles harbor, a terminal was maintained by us which kept busy a fleet of fourteen tankers, with a carrying capacity of 1,000,000 barrels. Ships transported our oil to many countries, to Argentina, to Japan, to far Cathay. When overproduction threatened disaster, John Barneson took the world for his field, seeking and gaining markets everywhere.

During this expansion of markets, the company entered intensively into the retail sale of its products. Our distributing system covered the Pacific coast from Alaska to Lower California, nearly 2,000 independent dealers were selling "General" products. We had 4,000 employees. These facts are cited to indicate the size and scope of an industry, in which ours was a typical company.

Setting this down, I am sensible of distressing symptoms of *inflation.* We all suffered alternately from swelled head and cold feet, all of us except John. His faith sustained us when the winds whistled and the tempests roared.

There is no space in this brief chapter to dwell upon our misadventures and mistakes. Speaking personally, I can affirm that Adam Grant's son was more Californian than Scot. I was "out" of the drygoods business, and up to the neck in these new hazardous enterprises, swept along, a mere leaf on a flood tide, hardly conscious of anything except direction, upward and onward. There were many reasons, failing health for one, which might have constrained me to retire to my ranch, to be out of the hurly-burly. I say it in all humility, but I believe that some power kept me going. That power, perhaps, is the spirit of the west. In my less robust moments I wanted to let go, but I couldn't. And I thank God that I didn't.

Not only did the General Petroleum Corporation develop oil resources in California. Extensive operations were conducted in Wyoming, leases were held in Texas and Arizona (through subsidiaries), and the corporation had prospecting permits on 7,000 acres in Alaska.

Taking part in the so-called world struggle for oil, the corporation through a subsidiary, the Continental Mexican Petroleum Corporation, entered upon the development of petroleum production in Mexico. More than 20,000 acres in leading Mexican oil-fields were secured, and a refinery was built at Tampico.

Operations in Mexico were hampered by a succession of revolutionary outbreaks afflicting the unfortunate country. The lamentably weak stand of Uncle Sam in failing to protect the interests of his citizens and their property in Mexico emboldened Mexican brigands to interfere with us upon any and every pretext.

With John Barneson and a party of friends, I went to the Tampico oil-fields in 1919, sailing from Savannah, Georgia, on his yacht *Invader*. At Tampico, and in the interior, we had opportunity to view distracted Mexico. Oil had not calmed troubled waters there.

Upon one of our inland voyages, we saw a rebel army, a tatterdemalion, straggling crew, men and women. Gaunt figures hung from trees, with vultures busy about them. Most of the soldiers were boys. A cynical observer said of the hanged that each exclaimed, before the noose was set, or when facing the firing-squad: "You are killing the biggest man in Mexico!"

With its widespread ramifications, the General Petroleum Corporation grew in beanstalk fashion. More than 700 producing oil wells were developed in California. Sales advanced from $28,000,000 in 1922 to $48,000,000 in 1925. It was seen that even greater progress could be made, in this age of mergers, if the properties were part of a giant organization. Accordingly, in May 1926, the company was acquired by the Standard Oil Company of New York. John Barneson remained chairman of the board of directors, but in 1928 was obliged to retire on account of ill health. Under the permit, given by the United States, for the Standard Oil Company of New York to merge with the Vacuum Oil Company, the old name which we originated — General Petroleum Corporation — is used to designate the united organization, one of the largest of all American oil companies.

When we sent the eminent geologist, John C. Branner, to make a survey of General Petroleum oil-lands, he reported the Kettleman Hills area, then virtually unexplored, to be the greatest oil field in the world. Our company drilled, but the limit of deep-boring rigs was reached, and no oil. After we sold, boring tools were perfected which could penetrate much farther. The drillings were pressed deeper, and, within a few hundred feet below where our equipment had stalled, the Standard Oil Company of New York struck one of the richest of all reservoirs of petroleum. It paid them twice over the purchase price of the General Petroleum Corporation.

The history of the oil company which Barneson created has been recounted here at some length because I know much about it, and because it is typical of all great concerns developing our petroleum industry. Other corporations, such as the Standard Oil Company of California, the Union, the Shell and the Associated oil companies, have played their large part in the expansion of the industry.

Of the petroleum resources of the United States, California has forty per cent, according to reliable estimates. Such is the wealth bestowed upon California by its "black golconda." Allied with it has been the truly remarkable development, within recent years, of natural gas.

(In the next QUARTERLY *will appear an account of Joseph D. Grant's experiences in the field of hydroelectric power, and in the business of steel production in California.)*

The Peraltas and Their Houses

By J. N. Bowman

The ninety-two years of the life of Sgt. Luis María Peralta spanned the period of Alta California from before the founding of Mission San Diego (1769) to one year after the admission of the state into the Union. He was undoubtedly born at Tubac garrison, the reason for this supposition being the entry in the baptismal register at nearby Mission Guevari:

Año de 1759 En 31 de Agosto bautize solem^{te} *a Luis M*^{a} *hijo de Gabriel de Peralta y Fran*^{ca} *Xav*^{ra} *Valenzuela. Pad*^{os} *estavan de luque Juana Gertrudis Valenzuela. Ihs Fran*^{co} *Pauer*[1]

The mission record fails to indicate Luis' age at baptism, but it may be inferred to have been in the same year. There was an older brother, Pedro Regaldo, and a younger sister, María Gertrudis, and all of them came with their parents, Gabriel and Francisca Valenzuela Peralta, to the province with Anza in 1775. In 1781, or early in 1782, Luis followed in the footsteps of his forebears and enlisted in the Monterey Presidio military service.[2] Two years later he was transferred to the San Francisco Presidio,[3] with which he was connected the remainder of his military life. He fought Indians, served on mission guards, was present at the founding and during the early years of Mission Santa Cruz, and was appointed comisionado at the Pueblo of San Jose, occupying that office until it was abandoned upon the transfer of sovereignty from Spain to Mexico.

A bit of romance is connected with Luis Peralta's transfer from Monterey to San Francisco in 1782: he was reported to the governor as one of two soldiers soliciting permission to marry.[4] For some unknown reason this marriage to the daughter of Pedro Bojorquez never took place, but a ceremony did occur two months later, when, on February 23, 1784, at Mission Santa Clara, Luis Peralta was wed to María Loreto Alviso, aged thirteen, if the presidio census of 1790 is correct.[5] To this marriage seventeen known children were born, nine of whom reached maturity and are well known; the other eight are known only from the mission records and died in childhood. The birthdays are so spaced that there could have been several others, but, if born, they died before baptism or were stillborn.

CHILDREN OF LUIS MARIA AND MARIA LORETO ALVISO PERALTA[6]

María Teodora (Theodora in the baptismal record), the first known child, born April 2, 1786, married to Apolinario Bernal, later to Mariano Duarte, and died November 27, 1850.

Chrisanto Antonio, born October 25, 1787, and died in childhood.

María Trinidad, born October 16, 1789, married to Mariano Castro, and died on Christmas Day, 1872.

Hermenegildo Ignacio, born April 3, 1791, and died May 9, 1874.

María Josefa, born July 19, 1793, was unmarried, and died July 11, 1862.

José Domingo, born December 3, 1795, and died April 3, 1865.

María Guadalupe, born December 18, 1797, was also unmarried, and died September 5, 1890.

María Luisa Fermina, born July 6, 1800, and died in August 1801.

Antonio María, born August 16, 1801, and died February 22, 1879.

José María Zeferino, born August 26, 1802, and died in childhood.

María Luisa Fermina,* born December 9, 1804, and died in childhood.

José Francisco Antonio, born March 9, 1807, and died in childhood.

José Vicente,* born January 23, 1809, and died in childhood.

María Luisa, born in 1810, married Guillermo Castro, and died December 15, 1873.

José Ramón and María Ramona, twins, born October 17, 1811, and died in childhood.

José Vicente, born November 21, 1812, and died June 30, 1871.

The father, mother, and five of the children were buried in Mission Santa Clara cemetery. The four boys who grew to maturity were all buried in Saint Mary's cemetery in Oakland. As to the burial places of the other seven children, among them Teodora and Josefa, no record has been found.

Luis' services as comisionado of the Pueblo of San Jose extended over the period 1807-1822. The year following his appointment he undoubtedly erected the adobe house that is still standing at 184 San Augustine Street, in the rear of the frame house in which the late A. P. Giannini lived for several years as a boy. Between the house and the river, Luis Peralta developed his fruit orchard, which became famous in his day. During this period as comisionado he collected his herd of stock, for whose pasturage he secured the grant of a half league of land on the lower Guadalupe near present-day Alviso; but, because of its possible withdrawal by the pueblo for its own use, he did not occupy it and secured, instead, the grant of Rancho San Antonio on August 3, 1820. He was given possession seventeen days later, but did not receive the title until 1823.[7]

After the end of his official days as comisionado, Luis Peralta spent the remainder of his life in the Pueblo of San Jose with his two unmarried daughters, developing his orchard, visiting his friends, making short trips into the country for wood, a few trips to the Rancho San Antonio, and taking an interest in the civic life of the pueblo and of the province. He has been described as very dark in complexion and short in stature, even for a Spaniard, the latter trait being corroborated by the size of the hilt of his sword which is now in the museum of the University of Santa Clara. His eyesight, failing in his later years, became so bad just before his death that he had to step to the door of the sala or living room to find sufficient light to sign his will. He died on August 26, 1851, of influenza and was buried in the Mission Santa Clara cemetery, where his wife had been laid to rest some fifteen years before. The appraisal of his property at the time of his death was placed at $1,383,500.[8]

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*In accordance with the custom of those days, children, born later, took the names of those previously deceased.

Rancho San Antonio was located on the east side of San Francisco Bay, between San Leandro and El Cerrito creeks, and reached from the crest of the hills to the water, all of which is now occupied by six and a half cities, and the major part of whose land-boundaries forms the line between present Alameda and Contra Costa counties. It was one of the first grants on the frontier of that day away from the missions, presidios, pueblos and the roads connecting them. Ten days after possession was given, that part of the rancho to the north of Temescal Creek was returned, over the protest of Luis, to Mission Dolores, which ran cattle and sheep in this area and which had two adobe houses near present San Pablo for the herders. In 1823, the mission withdrew from the land and it was returned to the original grantee and the title issued on June thirtieth of that year.[9]

Before the end of the year of the grant, the cattle had been driven to it from San Jose and actual occupation had been begun by building a house within the one-year limit, in accordance with the condition of land-granting of that day. The actual occupation was primarily on the southern part of the rancho, leaving the northern part for the cattle range. In this northern part, however, explorations had been made, one in 1818 by Domingo and Antonio who discovered a quail's nest on the bank of a stream, ate the eggs, and gave the stream its present name, Codornices, the quails.

Occupation of the rancho by the sons was gradual, Antonio being the first one to oversee activities on it through occasional visits. Before 1830, he had become a permanent resident in the homestead adobe on Peralta Creek. Antonio was tall, well built and light in complexion for a Spaniard; he was the sportsman of the family and often wrestled and contested in other sports with the father of the late Tom Carroll.[10] The second son to become active (when he was about twenty years old) on the rancho was the youngest surviving brother, Vicente. A few years later, he built his own adobe house on the northern part of the land, to counter any attempt at occupation by the rancheros to the north. Vicente was also well built physically, of medium height, and is the only one of the four brothers of whom a picture is known.[11] The third brother to come to the rancho was Domingo, who left his own rancho in present Santa Clara-San Mateo counties at the urgent request of the father and the brothers, to aid in the full occupation of the northern part of the grant against the encroachment of the squatters. He was short and stocky, very dark in complexion and bore a great physical resemblance to his father. The last of the brothers to acquire a permanent residence on the land, in 1842 after a short sojourn there in the middle 1830's, was Ignacio. He was slight in build, scarcely over five feet in height, and light in complexion.

By 1842, all the sons being in residence, the father came to the rancho and divided it between them. The "Brothers' Line," which divided the portions between Antonio and Ignacio, still appears on many of the maps of Oakland. Between Antonio and the northern part, the natural features of the estuary, Peralta Creek and the old road to the north formed the line. The line between Vicente and Domingo never appears on the maps; it ran from a tree on the south side of the mouth of Fishranch Canyon, near the Claremont Hotel, where Luis stood when he made the division by pointing to the east end of Yerba Buena Island. Antonio and Ignacio each received U. S. patents for their parts, but Vicente and Domingo joined in their claim and patent for the "Vicente and Domingo" rancho.[12]

The grant (named from the small hill, El Cerrito), El Cerrito de San Antonio, always bore the name San Antonio, yet the portion belonging to each son had its own name: San Antonio, belonging to Antonio; San Leandro, Ignacio's share; Temescal, Vicente's; and Codornices, Domingo's.

Luis visited the rancho only on rare occasions, three of which are known. The first was on August 20, 1820, for the juridical possession. The ceremonies were performed on San Leandro Creek — the reading of the grant papers, the throwing of stones in four directions, and the firing of a salute. Their eleven o'clock "breakfast" took place on the upper course of El Cerrito Creek because the mosquitoes at the hill were too troublesome; and, while the meal was in progress, "Monument Rock" — at present 562 Vincente Avenue, Berkeley — was selected as the landmark at this northeast corner. No measurement of the land was made, but all boundaries were pointed out before their return to Mission San Jose by dusk that evening.

Luis' second visit was in 1827 when he answered the governor's request for information regarding the rancho. In his reply, dated December 19, 1827, and written from the first permanent adobe constructed on the rancho, Luis stated that the land was about four leagues in length and about half a league wide, lying between San Leandro Creek, the northern line of Mission San Jose, and the small round hill "called San Antonio," which formed the boundary with his neighbor, Francisco Castro, to the north. There were four small streams, dry part of the year, one of which watered a willow grove adjoining the inlets near the sowing fields which depended on the seasons for water. Along the seashore was a "forest of oaks," so poor and without water that the cattle did not "relish" it. In spite of this condition of the rancho and the scattering of the stock, he had 1300 head of cattle, two droves of mares, and one drove of asses.[13]

The last known visit was in August 1842, when he divided the rancho between the four sons; the married daughters had been provided with cattle and the two unmarried daughters were to receive the San Jose property. At points in the foothills, Luis stood and indicated the three "Brothers' Lines" which were to separate their lands.

Regarding the dates, etc., of the houses erected by the Peraltas on the rancho and in San Jose, many legends have arisen, which are not corroborated by the existing evidence.

In San Jose, the present adobe at 184 San Augustine Street was undoubtedly constructed in 1808. Back of it to the north, and on the bank of the acequia or water ditch, was the small adobe built for the Indian girl, Dolores, and Guadalupe, after Luis' death, erected a rather imposing adobe to the right and west of the original house in which the older sister, Josefa, continued to live until her death.[14]

The first house on the rancho was merely a shelter, hurriedly built before the end of 1820, and after the stock had arrived, to accommodate the herders during the winter. It was built of "logs and dirt" about half a league (or one and a third miles) from the north band of San Leandro Creek, where, within a stretch of two miles, the terrain would have permitted the location of a shelter.[15] Nothing more definite can be learned from the records as to this temporary building.

The second house was permanent and was built of adobe; it became the rancho house of the grant and the center around which several dwellings were later built. It was Antonio's home, since he was the first brother to become fixed on the rancho. The building was undoubtedly constructed in 1821, after the "log and dirt" shelter had served its purpose during the first winter.[16] The adobe was so well built that it weathered the earthquakes of 1856 and 1868 and stood until razed in 1897. Its location has been determined by maps and testimony in the land-grant cases, and by the statements of men who knew it intimately.[17] The old well, now covered, still exists just inside the front fence and in front of the bay window of the house at 2511 Thirty-fourth Avenue, Oakland. Also remaining is the "Spanish pine," now in the yard at the corner of Paxton and Thirty-fourth Avenue. With these known landmarks, the adobe's site was placed at the rear of the house at 2511 Thirty-fourth Avenue. This is correct within a ten-foot radius.[18]

The size of the adobe may be taken to have been less than, or at least not over, 42 x 18 feet, the size of the father's house in San Jose. (The rancho house would not have had to accommodate as many as the pueblo house.) It faced Peralta Creek, and had the usual broad porch extending the length of the house. A fireplace, when later installed, was at the back wall. Subsequently a small wing was built on the southwest corner. The house had a dirt floor, a tile roof, and was one story in height. According to the census of San Jose in December 1828, fourteen persons were living on the rancho, presumably in this house. From it Vicente managed the northern part of the grant until he built his own house at Temescal; and, while living in the older building, Ignacio constructed his "Francisco" house and later the "Ignacio" house. Domingo, also, may have lived in the old house with his family until the adobe at Temescal had been completed.[19]

In 1840 the adobe of 1821 became a secondary house after the erection of a new and larger adobe, but it came into use again as the main building when the earthquake of 1868 wrecked the larger building. Two years later it was again abandoned as a dwelling on the completion of the frame house. From this date onward its use is unknown. It was in a dilapidated condition in 1897 when the eighteen acres on which it stood, the last of Antonio's rancho to leave the family, were sold for a real-estate subdivision to Henry Z. Jones, later a resident of San Leandro. After the sale, the land was cleared and the adobe removed. While this was being done, refuse, broken bricks, and surplus materials were thrown into the creek, but the good adobe brick and the timber were removed by the late Denis S. Dimond, Jr., to his father's private park and built, after a rough plan drawn by Harry Merritt, into a study, Percy Walker laying the brick — one of his first construction jobs.[20] While the old adobe was being dismantled, not a nail nor peg nor pin was found; all timbers were tied together with rawhide thongs, further evidence of its early date. Some of the brick remained in the family and were built into the front entrance of Mrs. Herminia Peralta Dargie's house in San Leandro. How the brick from her ancestral home were acquired is not known.[21]

The larger adobe of 1840, mentioned above, was built just south of the well. It was one story in height with a tile roof, dirt floor, and with the usual long and wide porch facing the south rather than the creek; it was perhaps 60 x 40 feet in size. The date and location were determined from testimony in the land-grant cases[22] and from the recollections of Tom Carroll and those of his father as given by the former, together with the stones of the fireplace and foundation, found in the garden and sidewalk by the present owner of the lot at Paxton and Thirty-fourth Avenue. At the time that this adobe was built, the garden space around the house (about two and a half acres) was inclosed by an adobe wall from six to eight feet high. On the inside of the southwest wall were built a number of adobe one-story, lean-to houses, to accommodate the guests at the rodeos held just across the creek. In 1851 these guest houses were increased in number to about twenty.[23] They are undoubtedly the ones indicated on the diseño of 1844. When the earthquake of 1868 badly shook the whole structure, Antonio moved back into the old adobe of 1821. The debris from the damaged building was cleared away and a frame house erected in 1870.[24] The location of this frame building was determined by the recollections of Tom Carroll, Harry Broadway, Fred Contraras, and especially of Agustín Casselli, who lived in it from 1892 to 1897 when it was moved, and these recollections were checked in relation to the existing well and the Spanish pine. The frame house, painted with the usual and favorite yellow paint of the Spanish, faced Peralta Creek, and on the low land, just across the creek, were the garden and orchard.[25]

In 1897 came the removal of the house to its present site at the southwest corner of Paxton and Thirty-fourth Avenue. Its original location, as given on the accompanying map, may be taken to be correct within a ten-foot radius. The correctness of the garden walls and of the guest houses is only approximate and may be in error by as much as a twenty-foot radius.

The Spanish pine, casting its shade today over the sites of the adobes of 1821 and 1840, is one of the few of its species in the region of San Francisco Bay, though there are several in Capitol Park, Sacramento. *Pinus pinea*, or the Italian stone pine (locally called the Spanish pine), is a native of southern France, northern Italy, Switzerland, and northern Spain. The origin of the Peraltas' interest in this species, and how they came into possession of the tree, are as yet unknown. From a ring-count made by Prof. E. Fritz of the University of California, and from the fact that the tree was about six inches in diameter in 1868, it is estimated that it was planted in or around 1851 when Antonio was enlarging his adobes.[26] The legend that one of its limbs was used by the Peraltas for hanging horse thieves must be questioned.

The next group of houses on the rancho was built by Ignacio, on the southern part of the grant. He was the second brother to build a house, even though he was the last of them to obtain a permanent residence. The temporary shelter of "logs and dirt" of the first winter of the occupation was somewhere in the area selected by Ignacio, but it had long before disappeared. In 1822, another "small house or temporary shelter" was built near the garden or truck patch on the lower part of San Leandro Creek.[27] Nothing further is known of it—its material, location, or fate.

Ignacio's own building activity began in 1835, soon after his retirement from the office of alcalde of San Jose. In that year he built an adobe on lower San Leandro Creek, but above the garden. It was the usual standard size, perhaps 42 x 18 feet, and like the other adobes on the rancho, it was one story in height with a tile roof, a dirt floor, and a long and wide porch facing the creek and the south. He lived in it for only a few years, when, for some unknown reason, he returned to the rancho house of 1821 or to San Jose, and left the adobe to his son Francisco. It was from this son that the adobe, occupied by him until after the earthquake of 1868,[28] received its name, "Francisco" house.[29] Existing maps indicate that the building disappeared somewhere between 1874 and 1878.[30] Its location was determined primarily from the patent survey of 1857 and from the assumption that the creek at this point has not changed its course materially since then. The determination would seem to be correct within a radius of twenty-five feet.

Ignacio built his second and larger adobe in 1842, when he finally came to the rancho as a permanent resident. It was also a one-story building with a tile roof, dirt floor, and with the usual long porch facing the creek and the south. Nothing more can be learned of it. Its site was determined from the patent survey of 1857, in the same manner as the site of the "Francisco" house, excepting that the survey's field notes place one of his stations opposite Ignacio's house, but without specifying which part of the house the station was opposite. Since the house was large, perhaps 80 x 40 feet, the determination may be in error by as much as a fifty-foot radius.[31]

This adobe also was badly wrecked by the earthquake of 1868. The roof fell in shortly thereafter, and almost crushed his granddaughter, the late Mrs. Whitcomb.[32] Like the "Francisco" house, it disappeared somewhere between 1874 and 1878.[33] It is unknown how the adobe was used after Ignacio occupied his brick house in 1860. The latter was erected during June-September of that year, and is still standing as the northern or front part (facing toward East Fourteenth Street) of the Alta Mira Club in San Leandro. The rear part of the present building is frame and was built after Ignacio's death.[34]

There is another old house on Ignacio's part of the rancho, though not one of the houses of the four brothers. It was built by Ignacio's son-in-law in 1854. His daughter, Antonia María, was married in 1853 to William P. Toler, formerly of the United States navy, and, after an extended honeymoon, he built the two-story yellow frame dwelling now standing at 948 Peralta Avenue, San Leandro, on its original site. Toler, as an ensign serving with Com. John D. Sloat at Monterey, aided in the raising of the American flag on July 7, 1846.[35]

The gardens on lower San Leandro Creek continued to be used by Ignacio and Francisco after Antonio started his own garden and orchard on Peralta Creek near the adobe of 1821.[36]

The next brother to begin building activity on the rancho was Vicente at Temescal in 1836. For several years he had managed this newly occupied part of the rancho from the rancho house of 1821, but, with the coming of Domingo in 1834 to join the brothers, he and Domingo jointly erected their dwelling on the north bank of Temescal Creek.

The first adobe at Temescal was built in 1836 in the middle of the present block bounded by Telegraph Avenue, Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, and Vicente streets, Oakland. It was the usual one-story building with tile roof and dirt floor, almost square in dimension (perhaps 40 x 40 feet), with a long front porch facing the south and Temescal Creek.[37] Its location was determined from the maps in the land-grant cases and from the recollections of pioneers intimately acquainted with the various houses built by Vicente in this area. This first house was removed during the latter part of the 1880's.[38] Nothing more is known of it except that Domingo moved from it in 1841 or early in 1842 to his own adobe on Codornices Creek.

The second Peralta house in this section was the large adobe built in 1847 or 1848, and enlarged by the addition of separate wings during the 1850's. The first part of this, the largest of the Peralta adobes, was the wing to the south with its long porch facing south toward the creek. Very soon thereafter, the east wing was built at right angles to the first part and extending toward the north. The house was in this shape in 1852, and each wing may be estimated at perhaps 40 x 20 feet.[39] By the end of the 1850's the north wing was added to the second wing and extended toward the west. The western end of this new wing was used as the living-room, with the fireplace in the west wall; and the first wing continued to serve as the kitchen. These three wings formed a patio large enough for a carriage to be driven into it and turned around. At the end of the 1850's, Henry Maloon recalled, a small adobe with a flat roof stood near the entrance to the patio. It was no doubt the chapel, probably the first place of religious worship north of Mission San Jose on the east side of San Francisco Bay. The date of its erection is unknown but may be placed somewhere between the end of the 1840's and the middle of the 1850's. The size was perhaps 30 x 20 feet. Part of the progressive expansion of the main building may be seen in the survey maps of the land-grant cases.[40]

This enlarged adobe was burned in 1866, and, during the summer of the following year Vicente built the yellow frame house, 50 x 35 feet, at 5511-5521 Vicente Street. The earthquake of 1868 completed the devastation of the burned adobe but the ruins were not removed until the end of the 1880's. In the frame house Vicente lived until his death in 1871.[41] In 1892 this frame house was moved to the northwest corner of Claremont Avenue and Vicente Street, Oakland, where it stood until it was burned in June 1932.

There was another adobe whose date of erection is unknown (possibly in the late 1840's or early 1850's), located on the edge of Fifty-sixth, about midway between Telegraph and Vicente. It was small, perhaps 25 x 20 feet in size. Its use is also unknown.[42]

The location of Vicente's frame house (see accompanying illustration) is correct; the indicated sites of the adobes may be correct within a radius of ten feet, except the site of the one marked No. 7, whose error may lie within a radius of twenty-five feet. The family well was located by Burrell, Maloon, and Mrs. Scoville, but no trace of it can be found at present.

All the adobes were removed during the middle or at the end of the 1880's.[43]

As to the corrals, they were located to the northeast of the houses; the early gardens were just north of the houses, but by 1852 other gardens were laid out to the south of the houses and near the creek, likewise along both sides of the creek extending to San Francisco Bay. By 1852, also, the road between Mission San Jose and Antonio's adobe was extended from the ford of Temescal Creek at Fifty-first Street northwestward, past the houses, and then northward across present Berkeley to Domingo's houses.

Another "Peralta house" is mentioned here for the reason that legend often indicates it as the home of Vicente. It is the frame house built by his widow after her marriage to Dr. Juan Ayala, and stood at the rear of the present Golden State Creamery at 5307 Telegraph Avenue. It is not to be confused with the houses built by the Peralta brothers on Rancho San Antonio.

The last of the brothers to begin building operations on the rancho was José Domingo. In the summer of 1841 he built a small adobe, perhaps 30 x 18 feet, on the south bank of Codornices Creek in present Berkeley. It was one story with a tile roof and dirt floor. Nothing can be learned as to which way it faced or whether it had the usual front porch. The inference, however, would be that it faced west and undoubtedly had a porch. In January 1842, William H. Davis, on a hunting trip, found Domingo living in it.[44] Its site was determined by the independent locating of the building by the late Mrs. Osuna (Domingo's youngest daughter), by Fred Contraras, and Peter Murillo of Cloverdale, who was born and raised in a house a short distance up the creek. The proximity of the adobe to fresh water obviated the need of a well. The adobe was cracked by the earthquake of 1856 and was so badly injured by that of 1868 that it was razed soon thereafter.[45] The indicated site on the accompanying illustration is felt to be correct within a ten-foot radius.

The second and last house built by Domingo was the first frame dwelling erected by the brothers, and the very probable date of its erection was 1851.[46] Mrs. Osuna recalled that her father often stated that the lumber had been "brought in ships," and that the house had been erected by a man named Don Eduardo. Nothing was indicated as to where the lumber came from.[47] The site of the house was determined through independent locating by Mrs. Osuna, who was born there, and by two other pioneers who were well acquainted with it. It stood in the rear of the vacant lot now at 1505 Hopkins Street. This location is correct within an error of ten feet. It has also been checked by the location of the buildings shown on the maps in the county recorder's office. Mrs. Osuna recalled that a shed had been added to the house at the northwest corner, and that a few feet back of it, toward the creek, was a well, filled in soon after 1872. Its site cannot now be determined. The house was two stories, with a long porch facing the west.[48] A family garden and an orchard were to the west of the frame house and south of the adobe.

In 1872 Domingo's widow and all the family moved out of the house; the garden and orchard were abandoned; the well, as said above, was filled in and the house neglected. On June 28, 1876, it was sold to J. C. Smith, who moved it within a few weeks to his own land on the north side of Schoolhouse Creek, a few hundred yards south of the original site.[49] At the new location, wings were built on each side of the original building, and the Edward Schmidt family occupied it for several years. It was sold to the University of California in 1924. It served as a storeroom and tool shed until August 1933, when the whole building was torn down and sound lumber from all the parts was used to erect a garden house on the same site. This new house was razed about 1941, upon the opening of the University Gardens real-estate tract.

In conclusion: all the Peralta adobes were one-story houses, and all were demolished by 1897 excepting part of the adobe of 1821, which was used in the construction of the Boy Scout House in Dimond Park. There were nineteen buildings constructed, resulting in sixteen separate houses — the two wings on Vicente's larger adobe and the guest-room additions to Antonio's were not counted as separate structures. Domingo built the first frame dwelling, and Ignacio built the only burnt-brick house. This building activity covered fifty years, with most of the construction taking place in the decade of the 1840's. Of the sixteen separate houses, eleven were adobe, three were frame, one was brick, one was of "logs and dirt," and one was of unknown material. Of all these buildings, only one still stands on its original site — Ignacio's brick house, part of the present Alta Mira Club House; and one other is still standing but on another site to which it had been moved, namely, Antonio's frame house at the corner of Paxton and Thirty-fourth Avenue. All the others have disappeared excepting parts of the 1821 adobe, now in the Boy Scout House in Dimond Park and in the front porch of Mrs. Dargie's home in San Leandro.

On the 1844 diseño, or plat, of the rancho four houses are indicated at Temescal and three at Fruitvale, but Ignacio's houses of 1835 and 1842, as well as Domingo's adobe of 1841, are omitted. The diseño, however, may be taken to indicate the *presence* of houses rather than the actual number or location.[50]

On each of the brothers' divisions of the rancho, cities came into existence and eventually covered the whole of the grant — part of San Leandro and Oakland on Ignacio's division; Antonio, Brooklyn, Alameda, and part of Oakland on Vicente's division; and Berkeley, Albany, and part of Oakland on Domingo's.

NOTES

1. Letter from Father Victor R. Stoner of Tucson, Arizona, who is transcribing and translating the mission registers of this area. The records of the San Francisco Presidio for Oct. 2, 1790, give Luis Peralta's age as 32. "Archives of California" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), State Papers, Missions, I, 84. In the contest at the time of his will, a witness stated that just before his death Luis gave his age as 91 or 92. Santa Clara County, Probate case No. 47, in Probate Clerk's office, San Jose. *See also* H. E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), IV, 425. The San Jose padron or census of 1841 cannot be accepted as reliable in the matter of the ages of the Peralta family.

2. His name appears on the presidio roster of April 15, 1782. "Archives of California" (as above in note 1), Provincial State Papers, Benicia Military, II, 26.

3. *Ibid.*, IV, 111.

4. *Ibid.*, IV, 112.

5. Mission Santa Clara parochial records. Her age is computed from the San Francisco Presidio roster (note 1 above). She died in July 1836, and was buried in Mission Santa Clara churchyard on July 22, in a grave now unknown. From the mission's records, her age at marriage may be inferred to have been 20 instead of 13. This was Luis' only marriage. A marriage in 1819, as reported in the Oakland *Tribune* of Dec. 9, 1929, in the necrological notice of Mrs. Herminia Peralta Dargie, must be questioned.

6. Mission records of Dolores and Santa Clara, and newspaper clippings; also computations from the death records.

7. Land-grant case (hereafter cited as Land case) No. 100 ND, in U. S. District Court, San Francisco.

8. Santa Clara County, Probate case No. 47 (as in note 1 above). The description of Luis is based on information from Mrs. Gabriela Peralta Osuna, who said that her own father, Domingo Peralta, greatly resembled his father.

9. Land case No. 100 ND.

10. Personal appearances of the Peralta brothers were obtained during the late 1930's, from conversations with contemporary pioneers, including the late Tom Carroll, Mrs. Josefa Peralta Wilson, Henry Maloon, Henry Burrell, Fred Contraras, and Mrs. Henrietta Linden Scoville.

11. Painting in the De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco.

12. Land case No. 100 ND.

13. *Ibid.*

14. The sites of the Dolores and Guadalupe houses were determined from the Sanborn Co.'s *Block Book of San Jose* (San Francisco, 1915). The original adobe of 1851 was composed, as always, of two main rooms divided by the existing adobe cross-wall; the large room (the eastern) was divided by wooden partitions into two small rooms, and the larger of these rooms was further divided by a partition into two smaller ones. It was in the inner of these small rooms that Luis died.

15. Land case No. 100 ND. The first house built upon occupation of a grant was usually made of logs or poles stuck vertically in the ground to form the walls, the chinks being filled with brush covered with mud; the roof was of poles, brush and mud or tules.

16. Land case No. 98 ND.

17. *Ibid.* Pioneers who knew the adobe of 1821 included, besides Tom Carroll (note 10 above), who played in and around it in his childhood, Harry Broadway, who received in 1897 the lot on which the adobe stood and had it removed; Agustin Caselli, who lived in the frame house from 1892 to 1897; Fred Contraras, who knew it as a boy; and Louis Storch, who helped raze it in 1897.

18. That is: a line, drawn around the suggested site ten feet from the outline, would inclose all or some part of the actual site.

19. The San Jose census may be considered reliable with respect to number of persons per dwelling. *Cf.* note 1 above.

20. Letters from the late Denis S. Dimond, Jr., now in the Bancroft Library, especially that of March 22, 1932, in which he says that he rebuilt the adobe in 1897, originally as a studio but changed it into a boys club, called Dimond Boys Club. He recalls that when the city acquired the property (in May 1917) for a park (opened to the public in September of that year), "they let the adobe get into a deplorable condition and used it as a tool house. The Boy Scouts took it over four or five years ago."

The late Prof. G. W. Hendry, of the University of California, secured several bricks from the Scouts House in order to identify the botanical remains found in them when dissolved. His investigations are being carried on by others, and it will be interesting to learn, when the studies are completed, what plants and weeds existed on the banks of Peralta Creek in 1821, when the bricks were made with this refuse as a binder.

21. Her home at 384 Ward Street, San Leandro.

22. For example, No. 98 ND.

23. Information from conversations during the 1930's with Tom Carroll, Fred Contraras, and Henry Maloon. This description of the building makes intelligible the story in the Oakland *Daily News* of July 19, 1870, when all the adobes, except the first one, were removed to make room for the new frame house.

24. *Ibid.*

25. Land case No. 403 ND.

26. Professor Fritz's computation takes into consideration the soil, the climate, and the growing characteristics of the species.

27. Land case No. 98 ND.

28. From statement of Mrs. Caroline Peralta Whitcomb, granddaughter of Francisco, just before her death in San Leandro in 1929.

29. Land case No. 98 ND, also 99 ND, 100 ND, and 234 ND; Patents A, 524, Alameda County Recorder's office, Oakland. In the patent survey of 1857, this first adobe is labeled "Francisco," and the one built later is marked "Ygnacio."

30. G. F. Allardt's *Official Map of Alameda County* (Oakland, 1874); *Historical Atlas of Alameda County* (San Francisco, 1878).

31. See references in note 29 above; also Probate case No. 47 (as in note 1 above). The creek bed, in this part of the stream, may be considered, for practical purposes, to be the same as in 1857. By stepping-off the station distances four times in the stream bed, the "station opposite" was located; and, by using the plat-scale, the distance from the stream was computed.

32. Her statement, as in note 28 above.

33. Luis Gallino, owner of the land where it stood, was unable, during spring plowing in 1931, to turn up any relics of the adobe at the indicated site. Former owners also stated that they had never found any remnants of the adobe there nor elsewhere in this area. A tradition exists that the adobe bricks were used to fill in a small ravine just south of the suggested location.

34. Deeds D, 11; J, 306, 607; L, 315, Alameda County Recorder's office, Oakland. The date of the construction was computed from the dates of the deeds; the identity of the land was determined from the chain of titles to the Alta Mira Club House property. The legend that the club house was the original and the first Peralta adobe on the rancho cannot be accepted. The deeds and their dates tell the story of the time of building and the building material; also, the brick of the front part of the club house can be seen in the attic and in the basement. The rear part, which, according to legend, is the original adobe now covered by wood siding, can be determined, by testing the studding, to be of the usual frame construction.

35. Deeds P, 36; Patents A, 52f; also, statement of his grandson, James Hoyt Toler, of Alameda and later of West Los Angeles. There is a legend that the house stood originally on the bank of the creek, but, because of winter floods, was moved to its present site at an unknown date, and that for some peculiar reason nothing but weeds will grow where the house originally stood. The weedy spot, no doubt the butchering place, can be readily located at the edge of the road.

36. Land case No. 403 ND, maps.

37. Land case No. 98 ND, and maps; also, Probate case No. 47, as above. W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California, 1831-1906* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 346. Temescal was also the name given by the Spaniards to the shellmound at the mouth of the creek.

38. Henry Maloon, who knew it at the end of the 1850's and who helped to build the frame house; the late Henry Burell, who knew it at the beginning and at the end of the 1850's; and Fred Contraras, who did the gardening for Vicente's widow in the 1880's. *Cf.* note 10 above.

39. Mrs. Henrietta Linden Scoville, who, in her childhood, knew the place intimately. Vicente was fond of her because of her red hair; while sitting on his front porch, he often held her on his knee and admired her red tresses.

40. Land case No. 100 ND; also Mrs. Josefa Peralta Wilson, sister of Mrs. Herminia Peralta Dargie (Mrs. William E. Dargie). The bell of the chapel came from Spain. The chapel served the community until St. Mary's Church was built in Oakland at the end of the 1850's.

41. Henry Maloon and Mrs. Scoville. Its location is definitely known from the R. C. Prather tracing of it, in May 1886, on the Boardman map of these blocks made in 1863 and now in the office of Boardman's son at Beugler & Boardman's, civil engineers, in Oakland.

42. Land case No. 100 ND, maps; also recollections of Henry Maloon.

43. Fred Contraras worked there as a gardener during those days. He tells of Vicente's widow, then Mrs. Juan Ayala, constantly urging him to search the garden and the old adobes for a diamond ring which she had lost thereabouts; it was never found.

44. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Land case No. 100 ND; Superior Court, case No. 284, Alameda County Court House, Oakland.

45. Peter Murillo, who, as a boy, remembered the removal.

46. Land case No. 100 ND; Deeds C, 494, 36, 40, 393, 33, 448; J, 439; M, 410, 411, as in note 34 above.

47. Prof. E. Fritz (see note 20 above) kindly took samples of the joists and studding for identification; he found the wood to be fir, consequently it did not come "in ships" around the Horn but from Puget Sound, which had, for two years, been sending lumber to San Francisco. As to the identity of "Don Eduardo," there is some uncertainty, though John Lee of Oakland states that his grandfather, Edward Lee, was a house builder and at one time lived near the Domingo Peralta house.

48. The late Mrs. Gabriela Peralta Osuna identified it by reference to the laurel trees still standing at Albina and Monterey avenues, and by the large rock in the bottom of the stream bed, some twenty feet below the bridge at Albina Avenue. On and around the rock she played in the water as a child. The laurel at Monterey Avenue she identified as one of the five standing in those days; but testing of stumps by Professor Fritz revealed no relics of the other four trees. The late Juan A. Ysunza, who knew the building as a boy, also located it by the laurels and by the course of the creek. The late Edward Schmidt knew it from 1861 onward, and later lived in it when it had been moved to his father's place on Schoolhouse Creek; he identified it by the oak tree at 1355 Hopkins Court and by the creek. These identifications checked with the building's location on the survey plat of the Peralta Homestead Tract of February 27, 1869, and with the distances from the creek as given in the land cases. Deeds 39: 281, Alameda County Recorder's office, Oakland; Land cases Nos. 100 ND, 320 ND. Mrs. Osuna drew a sketch of the homestead as she recalled it – the house, wall, garden, etc., and the road running from Vicente's houses to the San Pablo Road or Avenue; it is now in the Bancroft Library. The only early map available, giving the location of the road in the 1850's, is the Kellersburger survey of 1856 of the Vicente and Domingo rancho. No agreement between the map and her sketch could be found as to the location of the road, until it was discovered

that Kellersburger's locations of El Cerrito and Codornices creeks, and the road along the latter, were too far north of their actual courses as they approached San Francisco Bay. When adjustment of these locations had been made, the agreement was complete.

(A copy of the Kellersburger survey of 1856 is in the Bancroft Library.)

49. Alameda County, Probate case No. 150, in Probate Clerk's office, Oakland.

50. The diseño did not purport to be an exact map of the region, with its houses and roads, but only an outline to indicate the boundaries of the grant in 1844. The diseño houses may be taken as symbols of the general construction sites, rather than the exact number of buildings, in the year when the new diseño was drawn to replace the lost grant-papers of 1820.

Rambles in California

A Question of Authorship

By A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.

In the January 1849 number of the *Democratic Review* (Vol. XXIV, pp. 70-75), is an article entitled "Rambles in California (From a Navy Officer's Journal)." There is no indication of the name of this officer in the table of contents; nor is there any name attached to another article in the same issue (pp. 2-13), "Californian Gold" (from "Official Reports to Congress – Memorial of the citizens of California to Congress," according to a footnote). In the September 1849 issue of the same magazine (pp. 1-8) is an unsigned, entertaining article, "Railroad to the Pacific," which, in a reprint in the Bancroft Library, has Thomas Prentice Kettell's name as author printed below the title on the paper cover. Kettell, who was editor of the *Democratic Review* (called likewise *United States Democratic Review*) during the period 1846-1851, wrote, some years later for *Hunt's Merchants Magazine* (Feb. 1867, pp. 139-47), an article, "California Commercial Resources for the year 1866." It will thus be seen that he himself was making an effort to get factual information before east-coast readers.

The curious thing about the so-called navy officer's "Rambles in California" is that, although, at first sight, the present-day reader thinks he has found a contemporary, objective account of California, it gives, upon further reading, every indication of having been an armchair, absentee composition, apparently written not from personal observation in 1847 but compiled from sources already published. One recognizes, here and there, comments in the style of Edwin Bryant (*What I Saw in California,* New York and Philadelphia, 1848) or reminiscent of J. C. Frémont's early reports to Congress (*Report of the Exploring Expedition . . . to Oregon and North California in the Years 1843-44,* Washington, 1845), both of which would be accessible to writers in the eastern United States. Furthermore, the author of the "Rambles . . ." seems to have done his compiling primarily for the amusement, not the objective edification, of his readers. For an officer of the navy, whose duty toward accurate log-keeping is axiomatic, this gentleman's chronology is surprising, and gives rise to the suspicion voiced above.

For instance, before leaving San Francisco on April 22, 1847, he speaks (p. 71) of having "visited the sufferers [Donner party survivors]; we looked upon their ghastly countenances . . . and some one even pointed out to us that wretch, who, when discovered in his snow-covered hut, in the passes of the Sierra Nevada, refused to accompany the relieving party to the settlements, *preferring* to stay until his store of unnatural food gave out." The *California Star* of April 10, 1847, quoted the stories of the members of the relief parties, not the experiences of the sufferers as told by themselves. Nor did Fallon's rescue party, with Lewis Keseberg, the man accused of cannibalism, among them, leave Donner Lake until April twenty-first and certainly did not reach San Francisco in one day, where they could have been viewed by the "navy officer." The *California Star* account, amplified by Bryant (pp. 261-65) would seem to have furnished him with all the descriptive adjectives he needed for a heart-rending picture.

The resourceful author of the "Rambles . . ." does not hesitate to take into his own "journal" an episode occurring in the course of the Mexican War which was related in the *Californian* of October 13, 1847, beginning with, "During the late war, it was my sad fortune to be confined in the Hotel de ——, in the village of ——, with an intermittent fever . . . exposed to the tender mercies of a hotel. . . . I had one consolation, a cup of coffee, true coffee, from the patented steam apparatus of a friend." The coffee pot, however, "under an extra press of steam, had burst," the sound so alarming the garrison that the cry was raised, "The enemy are upon us! Beat the long roll! Officers to your posts." As recounted by the "Rambles . . ." author, who apparently adapted it to his chosen setting of Monterey, the story ended thus (p. 73): "We learned that Captain M., who cherished some newfangled French invention for a coffee-pot, hearing a detonation, and never suspecting that it came from his own long-treasured coffee-pot, which had burst under an excess of steam, had caused the drums to beat to quarters, and alarm guns to be fired."

Perhaps the most glaring instance of incongruity in chronology is the statement on page 74 in the "Rambles . . ." where the author, recounting his excursions, presumably from his base in Monterey, in pursuit of game, says, "It should be remembered that this part of California is not the El Dorado of emigration." And in the same paragraph, describing the confluence of the San Joaquin and the Sacramento, he informs the reader: "No waters run into these rivers from the west. Their tributaries all come from the high ranges at the east, and these are the *auriferous* streams." How, one wonders, did he know in 1847, before the discovery of gold, that these were the "*auriferous* streams"? On the next page he describes a ball, given by T. O. Larkin in honor of the departure of William Bransford Shubrick's squadron for the west coast of Mexico. This ball is reported in the *Californian* of Wednesday, October 20, 1847, so that the "Rambles . . ." author's chronology, in placing it *after* his reference to "the El Dorado of emigration," is disturbing.

In the last paragraph of all, which follows directly after the description of the Larkin ball, he says: "Gold mines had not yet been discovered." By this time one wonders what kind of a "journal" the *Democratic Review* thought it was publishing. Or was the author, with uncanny prescience in October 1847 (the last date he mentions), writing of world-shaking events to come?

Another "Rambles in California" appeared in Volume IV of *Frank Leslie's*

New Family Magazine, just ten years (Jan. 1859) after the *Democratic Review's* version. The *Frank Leslie* article is unsigned also, but credit is given to articles quoted in the course of the discussion. It is illustrated with pictures of San Francisco Chinatown, Sutter's Fort and Sutter himself, James W. Marshall, a bush of poison oak and another picture of a poison-oak leaf, Indians catching grasshoppers, making it quite an elaborate and at the same time a plausible literary effort.

Readers of the QUARTERLY may, during the above suggestions as to historical lapses in the *Democratic Review's* article, have called to mind "Naval Conquest in the Pacific," from the journal of another navy officer, namely, Lieut. Tunis Augustus Macdonough Craven, during the cruise to the Pacific of the *Sloop of War Dale*, 1846-49. It appeared in Volume XX (Sept. 1941), pages 193 ff, and was edited by John H. Kemble. But whereas "Rambles in California," by another so-called navy officer, seems fabricated, the journal of Lieutenant Craven, who was without doubt on the west coast at the same time, has the ring of authenticity, even if many of his criticisms are biased, viz., those directed against the Franciscan mission regime. The *Democratic Review* author, on the other hand, admired the missionary effort in California: "The enterprising Jesuits [*sic*] formerly searched out these favored spots, and placed them in a high state of cultivation. Their splendid Missions, now in ruins, attest their energy and zeal, while the decay of their establishments and the relapse of the Indian race into barbarism and ignorance, sufficiently prove the impolicy of their expulsion." And yet even this expression of opinion, no matter how sincere, seems to have been borrowed, and not the phraseology of personal comment which one would be apt to enter in a "journal."

"Judge" Robert Thompson

Based on His Personal Papers and Arranged for Publication by His Daughter

AUGUSTA B. WARREN

ROBERT THOMPSON was born in Montville, Maine, September 20, 1822, the youngest of nine children born to Thomas Thompson and his wife Polly Gowan Thompson, descendants of early New England settlers. Until he was sixteen, Robert lived the life of a farm boy. The two succeeding years, financed by his earnings as stock man on his married sister's farm, were spent at Freedom Village Academy in Maine.

When his father suggested that the family farm be divided between Robert, then eighteen, and his brother Alvah, Robert decided to give up his share and, with it, any idea of continuing life as a farmer. He wanted more education, but this required money and so he took employment at the Freedonian Cotton Mill at Shirley, Massachusetts. He was six feet four inches tall, strong, and willing to work. To get to Shirley, he found employment on a lumber vessel bound from Bangor to Boston. This netted him $5, enough to finance his trip to Shirley via Lowell. Eighteen months later, he was made superintendent at the Freedonian Mill where he was still remembered, some forty-five years later, by a former employee who wrote him: "I have just learned your address and wanted you to know how much you had been appreciated . . . because of your kindness to the hands."

By 1844, Robert was able to qualify for entrance at Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts. By boarding himself and working as janitor, he managed to pay for his tuition. Thereafter he taught school, continuing at the same time his own studies; made a brief trip to Iowa City and returned through Chicago; became engaged to Miss Caroline Batchelder of North Reading, Massachusetts; took up in earnest the study of law in Philadelphia until, in 1849, he accepted the invitation of friends to join in the California gold rush by way of Mexico. Among the objects in his baggage was a letter from the principal of Phillips Academy who spoke of him as "a young man of most excellent moral and religious character, of good natural talent"; it also spoke of his energy.

But before leaving for California he was married on January 28, 1849, to Miss Batchelder. The ceremony took place at the Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City because, in that gold rush year, young people had no time to conform to the Massachusetts law that marriage banns must be announced from the pulpit three successive weeks. After the wedding, Mrs. Robert Thompson returned to North Reading, while Robert went to Philadelphia, there to board the brig *Thomas Walters* en route to Mexico. Three years were to pass before the young couple saw each other again.

To make the trip west, he and his companions associated themselves into the "Amity Company." By February 22, they reached Tampico and took up the journey overland from there to San Blas, where they boarded the *San Blasena;* but the owners of the vessel got into financial difficulties and turned it over to the passengers. Young Robert and five other passengers, in attempting to go ashore in a rowboat to secure fresh water and wood, were capsized, but all managed to save themselves. Some twelve years later, in California, he was accosted by an apparent stranger who said: "I did not think when we were having trouble with that boat at San Jose, in Lower California, that we would meet again under these circumstances." The supposed stranger was George Ryan, who kept a hotel at Angel's Camp in Calaveras County.

Further delays occurred to Thompson's party in the neighborhood of Lower California. Finally they transferred to the Scottish bark, *Colony*, en route from Panama to San Francisco, arriving there on June 25, 1849.

July first found them in Sacramento, which they reached on the *New York Pilot.* To recoup his almost penniless fortunes, Robert conceived the idea of working, not directly in the gold mines, but in tin. A passenger on the river boat had a large tin box of crackers, which Robert secured by offering to exchange his valise for the box, the original owner retaining possession of the crackers. Thompson's next purchase was a sea-chest, which a sailor, hurrying for the mines, parted with for a dollar. The lock Thompson straightway sold for $1.50. His next move was to hire a carpenter, who converted the chest into seven rockers, the screens being made from the tin of the cracker box. Pay of carpenter was $5 per rocker; sale price of rocker, $30 each, the originator of the scheme retaining one rocker for his own use. But Thompson was tired after the exertions of his trip through Mexico and up the Pacific coast. To two of his party who wished to push on immediately for the mines he gave his tools; in return, they left with him a double-barrelled shotgun and a spring balance. He sold the shotgun for $40 and the scales for $16. (His reason for mentioning "these fiscal items" was, he said, to show that there was "little haggling over prices" at that time.)

After resting eight days, Thompson started with ten others and a team for the North Fork of the American River, the teamster, a Mr. Wilcox, being just in from Oregon. Their destination was Wood's Dry Diggings (now Auburn). Thompson's first panning operation in California brought in twenty-five cents worth of gold dust. This was about July 8, 1849. Next prospecting site was at Barnes' Bar (named for the resident owner of a store). Here they averaged an ounce of gold dust per day. They then tried their luck at Oregon Bar, where John Taylor was mining. Thompson calls the miners there "as fine a set of men as I have ever seen together."

Early in the winter of 1849, Thompson and his friends left Oregon Bar and went to Sacramento where they formed a company, under the name of Thompson, Wilcox & Taylor. They bought a lot on K Street, erected a store and stocked it with groceries at an outlay of $3,000. But the heavy rains of

1850 raised the level of the Sacramento beyond its banks, and among the inundated was the new store on K Street. Loss of stock and trade, together with the foundering of a vessel carrying merchandise consigned to them from San Francisco, obliged the partners to sell out at a considerable sacrifice. Being thus forced out of business, and out of Sacramento, by the flood saved them, however, from the cholera epidemic which succeeded the inundation. Thompson moved on to Dry Creek and in the fall of 1850 went into business with two men from Ohio, Chapin and Jewell (first names not mentioned). Thompson and Jewell went to Carson Valley to see if livestock could be purchased there more cheaply than at Placerville. Prices for stock were higher, they discovered, in Carson Valley, and upon their return to Placerville they purchased several oxen. These they took to Dry Creek and went into the hauling business, keeping the oxen in "the pocket" (between the Mokelumne River and Dry Creek). They agreed to "haul everything movable." For about six months they prospered, but reports of successful strikes in the placers made Thompson's partners want to take up prospecting. Alvah Thompson, Robert's brother, then in California, urged the same thing. Consequently the spring of 1851 saw the two Thompsons making plans to go to Big Bar on the Mokelumne. Both brothers were fond of milk. They bought a hornless ("mooly") cow and calf, and broke the mother to a new, but temporary, profession of pack animal by letting her stand, tied to a tree, a packsaddle on her back, for most of the day before starting on the trail. Mrs. Mooly thought nothing of it and carried the blankets and cooking utensils to Big Bar without mishap. Whereupon she proceeded to supply milk for $2 per gallon, making the uncertain placers look shabby to the Thompsons. They bought more cows at Dry Creek and moved up the river to Mokelumne Hill. Here, as Robert Thompson said, "we purchased a yoke of oxen and a cart; took wood into town and took care of our cows." They had competition, but did a rousing business nonetheless. Robert's share of the profits from the first year was close to $2,000. He though it about time to make definite plans for his wife to join him in California.

Before this could be done, some law enforcement — a continuation of the work of the vigilantes in San Franscico — had to be accomplished at Mokelumne Hill, owing to an influx of criminals into the foothills. The miners were too busy to bother about organizing for action against them, "until," as Robert Thompson says, "some great necessity presented itself, and then they would act and act efficiently, but with firmness and deliberation." His account of the efforts made by the citizens to protect their community from crime is given below.

THE VIGILANTES OF MOKELUMNE HILL

... At one time in the winter of 1851-52, there were thirteen successive weeks in which there was a murder or stabbing affray between Saturday night and Monday morning. In one week four were either killed or badly shot up. The victims were nearly always of the roughs themselves and no one other than they thought or cared about it. But soon a respectable Chilean was killed without provocation by a gambler. The gambler fled to the Mokelumne River, at Big Bar, but the river was too swift to allow the ferry boat to cross and he finally sent word back that he would stand trial if they would impanel a jury.

The next morning on consultation with some of the merchants, I went out among the miners and by noon there were gathered about one hundred and fifty miners and men of other honest occupations. A jury was chosen after selecting a Judge to preside. I was one of the six jurymen. The gamblers nearly all kept away from the trial during the day. Many of those who witnessed the killing were very reluctant to testify, and one in particular I took in hand after the attorneys and Judge had exhausted their questions. The gambler had thrown a knife at the Chilean and the knife was so large that the wound in the back was as wide as two of my fingers. As the Chilean fell some one handed the gambler a pistol and with it he fired a shot at the Chilean. We were trying to find out who handed the pistol. The witness knew but dared not tell. The Judge finally said that he must answer the question if the jury required it. I was the foreman, and informed the witness that he must answer. He finally did but was so forced to testify that the gamblers did not hold him responsible. I may here remark that the man who handed the pistol was never seen at Mokelumne Hill afterwards.

The jury retired about four in the afternoon. . . . they did not think anything of the situation. If they had they would have held back their verdict until the miners were assembled. As it was, the jury reported to Judge Campbell — . . . a native of my native town in Maine — who convened the court. The court was held in the evening in a bar-room, as that was the only place large enough to hold it. As I entered I saw that the crowd had entirely changed. The miners had not returned but the gamblers had filled the room. There must have been at least one hundred and fifty gamblers present, all with one and some with even three deadly weapons on their person. I read the verdict: "Guilty of murder without provocation," and handed it to the Judge. The Judge read it and then asked: "What will you do with the accused?" Various motions were put and voted down. Some proposed that the criminal be turned over to the sheriff. Some that he be given a Bowie knife and pistol and turned at large to get away if he could. In the confusion he was taken upstairs and the court adjourned. He was sent from town during the night and was soon afterward killed in San Francisco by one of his own class who had threatened to kill him on sight. . . .

This trial showed us that an unorganized body could do nothing. But it aroused the better elements into action, and a regular Committee was organized and officered. The Committee had its own room and no one was allowed to enter unless a member or on business. We had the means of knowing each other and, as soon as organized, Mokelumne Hill had less population but better security for life and property. But one murder was committed there, after the organization of this Committee.

One Don Magill (*sic*), a very good-hearted Mexican, had protected a Mexican girl from the abuse of a Mexican desperado. A few nights after, while Magill's dance house was full, the desperado came in with a cloak on. He quietly moved about until he got within reach of Don Magill when he plunged a large knife into him and then ran. He flourished his knife and cleared his way to the street where he mounted his horse and fled. The Committee spent much time and considerable money in trying to apprehend the murderer but never succeeded.

The first Grand Jury sitting in Mokelumne Hill was soon convened and I was its foreman. We held our sessions in the upper part of the building where Don Magill had been killed, and sat upon the benches covered with his blood, where he had been laid and soon died. During our session word came to us in the jury room that the murderer of Don Magill had been caught and brought into town. Every member of the Grand Jury was also a member of the Vigilance Committee.

I put the motion that we adjourn to help hang the murderer, and it was carried unanimously. The report turned out to be without foundation, but had it been otherwise no doubt but that every one of that Grand Jury would have had hold of one end of the rope with a hangman's knot on the other and the murderer's head through the noose. Of course when we adjourned as Grand Jurors, we would have acted as petty jurors. It was a case where the indictment by the Grand Jury was not specially needed in our estimation.

One other instance I call to mind when the Committee acted without a Grand Jury. During the summer and fall of 1851 many miners' cabins had been robbed and pistols and gold dust stolen.

As I walked out onto the street very early one morning, I saw a Mexican whom I recognized. . . . He was a large man about thirty-five years of age and considerably under the influence of liquor. An acquaintance said to me: "I think that is the man who stole a dozen lamb's wool pants the other day." I told him to ask the merchant to come down and if he said he was the same man he left in the store when he went out, I would arrest him. The merchant came and identified him. Feeling about him to see that he was not armed, I led him to the Committee's room. I asked if he would have some breakfast and he said "Yes," so I provided the best breakfast I could find and he relished it well. While waiting for him to eat he wished to bribe me to let him out the back door. He offered six ounces of gold dust and finally went to twelve ounces, but he had not the money with him. I had been told after arresting him that a miner on Corral Flat had had fourteen hundred dollars stolen four days prior to that morning from his cabin. Also, that this same man after purchasing the pants he then had on, in changing from the old pants to the new, had taken from his pocket a sack of gold dust about the size of the one stolen and put it in the new pants' pocket. I became satisfied that I had the thief.

During the morning a Mr. Emerson who spoke French and Spanish came into town. He was a member of the Committee. I informed him of the arrest and asked him to go in and pass himself off as a countryman of the prisoner and see if he could find any trace of the money. He tried but was unsuccessful. The Committee met at night and the owner gave a full description of the sack, so if it was found, it could be identified. Mr. Emerson and I were sent about one o'clock in the morning to hunt the money. We went to many dance houses but could find no trace of it, though they knew the man we had arrested. Finally after about an hour's hunt we went to a Mexican woman's house where I had sometimes seen him go to get food, and there found the sack between the matresses. It had been given to the Mexican woman to keep. There was only six hundred dollars, out of fourteen hundred dollars stolen, left in the sack. He had spent two hundred dollars per day since stealing it. Sufficient to say he had a fair trial. All the evidence was interpreted to him as we went along. An attorney was appointed to defend him and he was asked for some explanation but he had none.

It was a rainy night and the Priest was nine miles away, but volunteers went for him and he came the next morning. The Mexican never stole any more. It was then the law of the State that one should be hung for stealing. The penalty did not exceed that of California at that time. A "Sydney Duck," as they called him, got thirty-six lashes and forty hours to leave Calaveras County for robbing his partner. He was pleased that he escaped the gallows.

The influence of the Committee made Mokelumne Hill as orderly and safe as any town in the State in a very short time. The County Judge was elected from our Committee and did not resign until he took the bench and then wished us success. We were in constant communication with the Sheriff and Constable, and the officers of the law worked in perfect harmony with us. The people of the Hill were determined not to allow a man hung without a trial. A mere mob was a dangerous thing. One instance illustrates what a few can do if judicious and firm.

A sailor from seven miles above the Hill shot a gambler. I heard the shot and saw the man with the pistol about forty feet away. He ran down the Hill and the gamblers began to shoot at him. I went to the victim and helped him to a bed, got him some water and started some one for a doctor. An ounce ball had struck one cheek and passed out at the edge of the hair on the other side. When the doctor arrived I went out on the street. The gamblers had brought the man back and had a rope around his neck and were about to hang him. I stepped up and threw off the rope. They put it back and I took it off again. The street was crowded with gamblers. I told them that they must give the man a trial before they could hang him. I stood by him before any one came to my aid. The sailor was an Englishman, and soon an Englishman, who kept a hotel about five miles down on the Stockton road, came to aid me. A third man, a merchant, soon joined us and the gamblers gave up the idea of hanging the man without a trial and we turned him over to them and they took him away. We knew that they would not dare to do anything else than keep their promise. Of course the gamblers were all armed and I was not, but I knew that they would not harm me. They understood that it would not do to harm anyone outside of their own kind. I felt no fear in my opposition, single-handed, although lots of good citizens told me afterwards that they thought I was foolish; that they saw me but would not interfere. The gambler did not die, and after trying the sailor in a crowded room, and before the trial was over, he fainted. He had tried to kill himself, when he found that he could not get away, by running a bayonet into himself. It was rusty and it ran down outside of the ribs and entered the lower lobe of the lung. They turned him over to the doctor and never troubled him after. The miners at Rich Gulch, where he was mining, sent word down to the gamblers to hang him if they liked, but that their rule was twelve for one.

If the statement made by the sailor was true, he was justified in the shooting. The gamblers said he was mistaken in the man but the miners contended that he was not.

In my judgment, there was no method, either preventive or punitive, that would or could have brought about more satisfactory results than did the organization of that sensible and determined Vigilance Committee at Mokelumne Hill at that time. Its deterrent effect on crime was apparent at once; and the continued persistency brought about conditions comparable to any other community in California in a very short time.

After an absence of almost three and a half years, Robert Thompson returned in June 1852 via the Isthmus of Panama to New England, to escort his wife to California. By November they were aboard the clipper ship *Whirlwind* bound for the west around Cape Horn. In their party were a niece, Mrs. S. A. Hussey (called "a California widow" because her husband had preceded her there), and two of Thompson's Andover schoolmates — G. E. Carlton and the Rev. Mr. Benjamin D. Henry. Mrs. Thompson jotted down notes on their doings for friends at home: they were tossed by storms and their cabins flooded; they were entertained by sea birds (among them the albatross over 10 ft. from tip to tip, and the stormy-petrel or Mother Carey's chickens), and were entranced by the sunsets; they studied Spanish and recited their lessons to Thompson; they jumped rope for exercise; they remarked upon the drunkenness of the captain, William H. Burgess of Cape

Cod, and upon his somberness ("If we laugh," wrote Mrs. Thompson in her entry on Jan. 6, 1853, "he will smash the chairs around . . .").

As to Robert Thompson during the voyage, he accounted for his time and the sights in a letter, written, like his wife's, after the fashion of a diary, to his brother Alvah, who had returned east in the fall of 1852. Robert described the "vast improvements made in the art of the shipwright. From what I can see of the *clipper principle* in this ship, leads me into the belief that the whole shipping of the world is to be remodeled by it. The speed is to be increased from one fourth to one third and the disadvantages are small. They will not be as dry as the old kind but they will make less leeway and hence there is less danger of a lee shore. . . . I look at the Whirlwind as doing honor to the firm of William & F. H. Whittemore & Co." Thompson read Blackstone on shipboard. He wished, he said, that he had bought Kent's *Commentaries* before leaving Boston. "However I get along quite well, as Blackstone is good for at least three readings and the time taken to read it the fourth will by no means be lost." He found that "Cape Horn once" was "quite enough for one life time. . . ."

Thompson said of the albatross that when taken on deck they were very independent and fought to defend themselves with "as much composure as an old general." He also mentioned the "booby," brown and white birds not quite as large, he thought, as the albatross. Only a few whales were seen, but there were large flocks of the small, speckled whale-bird; also some Cape pigeons. On January twenty-first he reported harder winds than any they had experienced since leaving Boston: "The water was so taken up by the wind that the surface looked as though it was covered by a dense fog. These winds come in squalls from the mountains and are called 'willy waws' [williwaws] and trouble vessels going through the Straits of Magellan very much." On January thirty-first the *Whirlwind* "spoke a vessel from Valparaiso and she reported that the 'Queen of the Seas' arrived there last Tuesday. She sailed six days before we did so we are thus a little ahead of her. We have now as good a show for San Francisco as she has, if she did go down the bay, when she started out, 15 miles an hour with only a few sails set." At the time of Thompson's letter, the *Whirlwind* was "about 200 miles from the Juan Fernandez Islands and 500 miles from Valparaiso in a W. S. W. direction."

On February first he writes about the phosphorescent light: "the wake of the ship has something the appearance of the tail of a comet, if anything a little whiter. . . . The fish, too, look like fish of fire as they come about us." The night sky supplied him with a continuous field of study: the constellation of Argo Navis he called "the finest . . . the mammoth constellation of the heavens. . . ." Kendall's and Barrett's astronomies did not seem to him to "agree with the sky, themselves, or one another in regard to the Southern Constellations. They give quite a number of stars the wrong magnitude and also the wrong location."

Arrived in San Francisco after a voyage of 119 days, the *Whirlwind* landed her passengers by small boat at Montgomery and Jackson streets on March 12, 1853. The next day (Sunday), Mrs. Thompson wrote from the Rassett House to friends in the east:

> . . . I feel quite at home. The shipping in the harbor looks like Boston for all the world. I am quite surprised to see such good brick and wooden buildings. Yesterday I came ashore and could hardly believe I was not in Boston. I saw a good many familiar signs, such as "Adams and Co.," "Chelsea Laundry," "Boston Bakery," etc. There are 75,000 inhabitants; I assure you it is quite a place and looks quite *Yankeefied*. I am amused to see the Chinese and hear them talk; it sounds like "yong kong yong – e – e-yong kong e-e-e-e." They dress as they do in their native country.
>
> The weather is as pleasant as June, though not quite so warm. The ladies are dressed as they do in Boston. I like the looks of the green hills and the ten thousand flowers of every hue and color.
>
> I am going to the First Congregational Church this morning where the Flints worship. . . .
>
> Sunday afternoon. Mr. Putnum Flint called for us this morning, and we went to Mr. Hunt's church to hear William Pond (son of Prof. Pond of Bangor, Maine) preach. The house was full and chairs set in the aisles. We had a fine sermon and good singing accompanied by an organ.
>
> We leave tomorrow for Stockton and shall soon go to Mokelumne Hill, and then expect to hear from home direct.
>
> I am very glad we went around the Horn as a great many have died crossing the Isthmus; seventy out of one ship-load died of Isthmus fever.

Before Robert Thompson started for the east the previous June, he and his brother had sold their wood-supply business. This left the dairy under Alvah's management, with assistance from a trusted friend, Sam Bright. In the fall of that year (1852), Alvah himself went back to Maine; Bright took over his share in the business and upon Robert's return to Mokelumne Hill in March 1853, he and Bright became partners. Later they speculated in the raising of hogs.

Upon his arrival in San Francisco that March, Robert had commented in his letter to his brother, quoted above, that good reports had reached him from the Hill; "things look better," he said, "than I had expected." The reports were found to be true when he reached Mokelumne Hill and so he went about the erection of a family home. It was made of sawed lumber (in contrast to the shakes of their temporary two-room abode) and was painted white; a porch extended across the front; there was a French window and the front door had a green blind on each side. Eventually a flower garden and a vegetable patch were planted, and an orchard.

The Rev. Mr. Benjamin D. Henry, one of their companions on the *Whirlwind* (and whose fare Mrs. Thompson had paid), volunteered to preach in a local hall. This gave rise to attendance large enough to warrant the founding of a Congregational Church – sometimes referred to as "Mrs. Thompson's church," because of her efforts for its success.

In the fall of 1853, Sam Bright gave up his share in the dairy and hograising business and opened a butcher shop. Thompson went back to mining, this time at Whit's Bar on the Mokelumne. His legal study made him a desirable candidate, also, for justice of the peace at the fall elections, and, together with his popularity, resulted in his being chosen by a large majority for two successive two-year terms. He often sat with the judge in civil and criminal cases; whence his title of "Judge." A fire, in 1854, consumed the church along with most of the town, but the Thompson residence was on Prospect Hill and escaped the flames. Consequently, when court week came, the Thompsons provided shelter (and home-made pies) for the sheriff of San Andreas, a judge from Sacramento, Squire Brockway and Judge Campbell. Political office came to Thompson again when, in 1857, he was elected superintendent of public instruction for his township, a position he held until he and his family moved to Alpine County in June 1864. Two years after his election to this public office, his ambition to become a lawyer was fulfilled when, on May 17, 1859, he qualified as an attorney-at-law.

During their eleven years at Mokelumne Hill, three children were born to the Robert Thompsons: Edward B. (1856), Carrie B. (1858), and Augusta B. (1863), the "B." in each case standing for his wife's maiden name, Batchelder. One means of supplying nourishment for the family also benefited the processes of justice. It was customary in pioneer days for a Chinese to refuse to testify in court until he had cut off a chicken's head. When cases involving Chinese were heard before Thompson he himself furnished the chicken, which, when decapitated, continued (so to speak) on its way to the Thompson larder. But for reasons unforeseen by the Thompsons their family larder was to suffer removal.

Originally, Calaveras County included the present counties of Alpine and Amador, with Mokelumne Hill the county seat. Amador was separated off in 1854 and Alpine in 1864. By these changes in area, Mokelumne Hill no longer occupied a central position within newly constituted Calaveras County. The effects were soon apparent in loss in real-estate values, population and markets. Thompson's house, for example, with its gardens and orchard, had cost some $4,000; when put up for sale it brought $600. It was because of these circumstances that June 1864 saw the Thompson family on the move, by team, bound for Silver Mountain in Alpine County.

Thompson at once invested in Silver Mountain real estate, including a quarry which provided stone for building the town jail. One lot, which cost him $300, he rented, unimproved, for $40 per month. He built a home and an office, practiced law, was a notary, and acted as secretary for several mining companies. Of one mining company, the Blue Goose, he became one of the owners. He also took up snowshoeing, as Silver Mountain had a heavy snowfall in winter. "Snowshoe" Thompson (not a relative) gave him a lesson or two. Among their friends were Dr. and Mrs. John S. Adams and their son Frank, from Vermont. Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Adams sang in the church choir and organized a Sunday school. Spelling-bees were held on other occasions and "Old Folks Concerts." In winter Thompson gave lectures. One of his activities was the drawing of a map of Alpine County — said to have been the first. Their affairs seemed to be turning out well, but the mine in which he was interested, though showing a rich vein of silver, proved unprofitable to work because of the scattered nature of the deposits; and, some three and a half years later, news of a rich "strike" at White Pine, in Nevada, depopulated Silver Mountain, which began to drift toward its fate — a ghost city. Again the Thompsons were on the move. With their friends, the Adams family, they departed in October 1867 by team, driven by Walter Mercer, to Stockton, where they took a river steamer to San Francisco.

Shortly after coming to the Bay area, Thompson began the practice of law in San Francisco. During the 1860's, great expectations had been building up in connection with the completion of the railroad between the east and west sides of the continent, and his arrival in San Francisco coincided with these boom times. He opened an office in the Montgomery Block. Here he stayed for thirty-five years, acquiring a lucrative practice and specializing in bankruptcy cases as time went on.

Thompson became a life member of the Society of California Pioneers. He and his family were active members of the Second (Plymouth) Congregational Church; he served as director of the Odd Fellows Hall Association, which managed property worth over a million. In 1875, he and Mrs. Thompson represented California at the Right Worthy Grand Lodge I. O. G. T. in Bloomington, Illinois, and revisited Maine and Massachusetts during the same trip. Two years later, on October 9, 1877, the elder of their two daughters, Carrie B., was married to the Rev. Mr. Henry Houghton Rice of Sacramento. According to the *Alta California* of October tenth, "the beauty, taste, and talent of the city" attended the ceremonies at the Second Congregational Church, and the account was accompanied by a poem, "The Bride of Mokelumne," by Thomas G. Spear, who had been one of Thompson's companions during their experiences in Lower California in 1849, on his first trip west.

The later years of Thompson's life he devoted to charitable work. Both he and Mrs. Thompson were greatly concerned with temperance; both were active in the work of the "Band of Hope," a children's class in temperance. He was also interested in the work of the International Order of Good Templars, whose Home for Orphans was dedicated at Vallejo in 1869. They attended the monthly board meetings at Vallejo, and Thompson served many times as president, his wife acting in similar capacity on the board of Lady Managers of the home.

Mrs. Robert Thompson died on August 10, 1889. Thereafter Thompson, who survived her for almost nineteen years, lived with his daughter, Augusta B., whose marriage to Frederic W. Warren took place in October 1889.

"Judge" Thompson labored almost constantly for the welfare of the orphans at the home. Especially did he work, by means of personal solicitation, for a larger barn, stocked with Holstein cows. On one of his weekly visits to Vallejo he became seriously ill and was obliged to remain at the home during his few remaining days. He died on February 10, 1908, at the age of eighty-five. Funeral services were held at the Home for Orphans, Vallejo, on the following day. Interment was in Mountain View Cemetery, Oakland.

A History of the Book Trade in California

1849-1859

By Hugh Sanford Cheney Baker

(Continued)

III. OVER-EXPANSION OF THE BOOK TRADE, 1853-1855

California had many outward and permanent signs of intellectual life by the beginning of 1853. Santa Clara College, the University of the Pacific (both at Santa Clara), and the College of Notre Dame (at San Jose) had opened their doors to students, and public schools were training children in such places as San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton, Benicia, Nevada City, and Grass Valley.[46] There was a library association in Monterey;[47] a small state library followed the peripatetic capital from Monterey to Sacramento; in San Francisco three organizations provided libraries for their members.[48] The San Francisco Mercantile Library Association was being organized[49] and was to be opened to the public on March 1, 1853, with a collection of 1,500 volumes of standard literature, most of them purchased from Gen. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, commander of the Pacific Division, U. S. army. Later in 1853 and in 1854 small libraries were to spring up in mining camps, usually in conjunction with debating societies and lyceums. Such plays as *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Richard III*, *Henry IV*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Venice Preserved*, *The School for Scandal*, *Richelieu*, *The Lady of Lyons*, and *London Assurance* had been performed in San Francisco's theaters,[50] and strolling players had entertained audiences on occasion in Sacramento, Stockton, Marysville, and the largest towns of the mining regions.

The 1850's may be called the Golden Age of the book trade in California. Beginning haphazardly, it had become regularized to such an extent that on January 11, 1853, when the *Alta* summarized the history of this trade in San Francisco, it could point out that an improvement in reading tastes had taken place as a result of the constant importation of better books, and could protest the reputation for crudeness the state had in the east:

> The Book Trade in this city commenced with the peddling of a few cheap, old and ill-assorted publications from a hand-basket, in the open streets, and has, within the short space in which almost every other wonder has been accomplished in California, grown to a highly prosperous and ably-conducted branch of daily business — with splendid sales-rooms, well stocked shelves, and in some instances binderies attached to the stores — constituting one of the prominent features of California enterprise. The tastes and desires of the reading public have correspondingly improved since 1849. . . . [They] now require not only the highest order of literature, and the latest publications, but appropriate styles of printing and binding for drawing-room or library purposes are now consulted. The richest and costliest works find ready sale. . . . By every steamer that arrives with freight from the Atlantic shores, the latest English and American publications are received. Such is the book trade of San Francisco, whose bookselling houses supply all

the interior and the mines with every species of reading, and carry on a home traffic that, were figures shown, would surprise some of our Eastern friends, who sigh over the moral and mental darkness which lingers around "benighted California."

That the type of books supplied to San Franciscans was improving is seen in the long lists of titles which dealers specified they had in stock. On July 26, 1853, LeCount & Strong began publishing a "Catalogue of Bound Books" in the *Alta,* and continued adding to it until September 27, 1853. Vigorously competing, Cooke, Kenney & Co. had announced in that paper on June fifth that they stocked "valuable library books such as every one ought to have," and their "List of Standard works" appeared in the *Alta* from July 28 to September 3, 1853. Shortly thereafter, Marvin & Hitchcock (according to the *California Chronicle* of November 30, 1853) issued in pamphlet form a list of their books, "Miscellaneous literature of every kind — over 60,000 volumes well assorted."[51]

One could buy from LeCount & Strong (to select a few titles in their order of appearance) the works of Daniel Webster, Bacon, George Washington, Mrs. Amelia Opie, Hannah More, Froissart, Cooper, Herodotus, Béranger, Jacob Abbott, Hawthorne, Humboldt, Mosheim, Ik Marvel, and Thackeray, among hundreds of others. At Cooke, Kenney & Co.'s store one could buy the works of Irving, Scott, Burns, Macaulay, Carlyle, Addison, Agnes Strickland, Parkman, Burke, Hallam, Walter Colton, Lorenzo Dow, Henry Kirke White, and Robert Southey, as well as many books advertised by the other concern. In these lists we find titles of numerous works long since forgotten by general readers.

An extremely interesting notice appears in the *Alta* of June 8, 1853:

> SHAKESPEARE EDITION OF 1632
>
> A Quarto Volume of the impression of 1632, (the second published) in excellent preservation, with a curious woodcut of the great poet, is offered for sale.
>
> A copy of the same impression discovered by J. Payne Collier, Esq., led to the publication of that gentleman's edition of Shakespeare, which has attracted so much attention in the world of literature.
>
> It may be seen at Cooke, Kenney & Co.

Despite the error of *Quarto* for *Folio* (if the advertisement can be taken at face value), the words "excellent preservation" signify that this volume must have been a copy of the second folio edition (1632). The story of how it found its way to California would be an illuminating side-light on the book trade. A clue to its ownership is seen in a news item in the *California Courier* of December 3, 1851; it states that the men planning a library in San Francisco believe that they can acquire "the oldest copy of Shakespeare now in the United States" from a man living in the interior of the state. At any rate, the mention of this folio and the reference to Collier's edition (1853) demonstrate that thus early in the state's history some settlers appreciated book collecting and Shakespearean problems, and that dealers were interested in rare editions, as they have been ever since.

As formerly, the bookstores in San Francisco were linked with the publishing business. Of course, newspaper offices and other firms printed a few books and pamphlets, but we shall notice only the important publications issued by bookstores. The first high point was reached between 1853 and 1855. On June 3, 1853, LeCount & Strong announced in the *Alta* that they had published *The Discovery of California and Northwest America* by Alexander Taylor of Monterey.[52] This nineteen-page pamphlet is an historical sketch based on the records kept by Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and his pilot Bartolome Ferrelo in 1542 and 1543. Marvin & Hitchcock issued in 1853 *The California Pilgrim* by the Rev. Mr. Joseph Benton, a Congregational clergyman of Sacramento;[53] and *China and California* by the Rev. Mr. William Speer of San Francisco, formerly a Presbyterian missionary in China. Also in that year, Cooke, Kenney & Co. published *Idealina, and Other Poems* by E. J. C. Kewen, a lawyer of San Francisco;[54] although of no high literary merit, this ranks as the first book of verse printed in the state. Seriousness of purpose, which was not to mark the next two years, characterized the California authors of 1853.

On August 6, 1854, William B. Cooke & Co. (formerly Cooke, Kenney & Co.) announced in the *Alta* the publication of a book which took the fancy of Californians, because of its topical interest, and has held their attention ever since because of romantic variations on its adventures and characterizations—*The Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit.* The editor of the *Golden Era* noted on August 13, 1854, that this novel by Charles Lindley and John R. Ridge[55] had been issued, but declared that he had not "been able to find it on sale at any of the bookstores in the city." Shortly thereafter, this romance, based on reports of Murieta's robberies and murders which had filled the pages of California periodicals and Ridge's imagination,[56] reached the mining districts, for we see a reference to it in the *Union Democrat* of Sonora on August twenty-sixth, and we learn from a letter of Franklin Buck, a trader and miner from Maine who lived at Weaverville, that he sent a copy of it to his sister on September nineteenth.[57] It is interesting to observe how copies of a book, which has completely disappeared, were distributed then throughout the state.

Also in 1854 and in 1855 three other San Francisco booksellers published small volumes for general reading. Bonestell & Williston (according to the *California Chronicle* of June 16, 1854) issued H. C. Williston's *California Characters and Mining Scenes*,[58] sprightly descriptions of typical miners, merchants, and foreigners in the state. The next year this firm reprinted from the *Wide West* an adventure story entitled *Maritana, the Wild Maid of Montcalm*, adapted from the French by W. D. Wade. W. W. Kurtz & Co. (successors to Bonestell & Williston) imitated that year the practices of eastern publishers by issuing a pirated edition of Charles Reade's *Peg Woffington* (1852) especially for Californians. That year the Noisy Carrier's Publishing

Hall (Kimball's store) got out *The California Songster*, collected by David E. Appleton, an associate of this firm. There is one striking feature in common in all of these instances: the cost of publishing books by Californians was met by dealers who were selling current and standard works published in the United States and Europe.

The relationship between authors and dealers in San Francisco and publishers in the east contributed in another way to the supply of books in the state before 1856. The *Annals of San Francisco* was edited by Frank Soulé (of the *California Chronicle*), John Gihon (of Gihon & Butler, booksellers), and James Nisbet (of the *California Chronicle*), and was published by D. Appleton in New York by subscription. At least six months before its appearance, the editors printed a prospectus in the *California Chronicle*, beginning on November 21, 1853. Another example is Thomas Hart Benton's *Thirty Years' View*. LeCount & Strong arranged with Appleton & Co. to assist in publishing the first volume, and in 1854 (the year it appeared) advertised it frequently in the *Herald*.[59]

In January 1854, Marvin & Hitchcock began to publish the *Pioneer Magazine*, the best literary monthly of the decade in the state. Its editor, Ferdinand Ewer, a graduate of Harvard, selected, from his contributors, poetry, fiction, various types of essays, humorous sketches, and book reviews. The writers included Mrs. Louise Clappe ("Dame Shirley"), John Hittell, George Derby ("Phoenix"), and Edward Pollock. Not to be outdone, on March 17, 1854, Bonestell & Williston founded the *Wide West*, a literary weekly especially for miners. Its advertisements of books the firm had for sale made it easy for a man in a distant community to order whatever he wanted.

Meanwhile, the sharp competition among San Francisco wholesalers caused a war among dealers in books. About the end of 1852, Joseph J. LeCount advertised that he could do business "at the smallest per centage of profit."[60] Burgess, Gilbert & Still countered by declaring in the *Alta* on February 2, 1853:

> CHEAP BOOKS AT NEW YORK PRICES – The subscribers have on hand upwards of 100,000 volumes of light literature, and are constantly receiving fresh additions to their large stock, by clipper ships and steamers.
>
> Their assortment consists of works by the following authors: Walter Scott, Bulwer, James, Thackeray, Lever, Lover, G. W. M. Reynolds, Dickens, Maxwell, Ainsworth, Cockton, Capt. Marryat, Alexander Dumas, Eugene Sue, George Lippard, T. S. Arthur, Ned Buntline, Ingraham, Mrs. Grey, Mrs. Gore, Miss Ellen Pickering, &c., &c. In fact by all authors of any note, all of which we will retail at New York prices.

Following this notice, the firm listed the prices of numerous books; e. g.,

The History of Pendennis, by Thackeray 2 vols.	$ 2.00
Vanity Fair, by Thackeray 2 vols.	$ 1.00
Wild Sports of the West, by W. H. Maxwell	$ .50
The Wandering Jew, by Eugene Sue 2 vols.	$ 1.00

The Three Guardsmen, by Alexander Dumas	$ .50
Twenty Years After, a sequel	$ .75
First and True Love, by George Sand	$ .50

The advertisement concluded with: "The subscribers are determined to keep up their reputation for selling books cheap. Remember the No., 126 Commercial Street, or Long Wharf, Brick Store, three doors below Montgomery."

The next day Charles P. Kimball, owner of the Noisy Carrier's Publishing Hall at 77 Long Wharf, entered the war by printing these crude verses in the *Alta:*

When large Importers lower the price,
We little folks must not be nice;
Of course not, why should
We, if they have rich enough [*sic*]
To do as they have mind to.
We are poor enough to follow suit.
All the papers of the city will
Please publish to all the world, and
Let it be known to every creature,
That the Noisy Carrier won't be beat
By 126 Commercial Street

After that date, readers did not have to pay carriage charges from the east in addition to the prices of novels in San Francisco.

As might be expected, by the end of the year this war led to financial difficulties and reorganizations for certain wholesalers of books and stationery. The first to suffer was Burgess, Gilbert & Still. After two reorganizations, Still took control of the firm in 1854, specialized in selling newspapers, but failed within a few months.[61] Kimball, who had advertised extensively, announced in the *Alta* on October 23, 1853, that he was willing to sell out: "For certain reasons, I will sell the good will, stock, building and lease of the lot – everything about the business *except the Uncle Sam*[62] – for a fair consideration, not otherwise." Since no one paid the fair consideration, Kimball remained in business as a dealer in paper-bound books, mainly adventure stories, humorous tales (the type which Bernard De Voto shows western Americans were reading and which influenced Mark Twain),[63] and plays. Kimball, who advertised long lists of these books in the *Wide West*, became the chief high-pressure dealer in the state. By August 6, 1854, we see the name of William B. Cooke & Co., instead of the familiar Cooke, Kenney & Co., in the *Alta*. Their failure, according to Bancroft, was due to "lack of capital."[64] Shortly after the opening of 1855, Marvin & Hitchcock, who had added a picture gallery to their store,[65] ceased their extensive advertising; we gather from newspaper files that the partners had met financial reverses, because, in the *Alta* of December 24, 1855, an auction sale is announced at the Pioneer Bookstore, then managed by E. G. Hall, probably a receiver.[66]

The reasons for these failures were, partly, beyond the control of booksellers: the general market in California was surfeited with goods; "overtrading, speculation, and extravagance"[67] characterized business methods; and several bank failures in 1854 precipitated a commercial crisis which culminated in February of 1855 in the bankruptcies of Page, Bacon, & Co. and of Adams & Co. The book market itself was badly overstocked, and additional consignments of books were sent to the state where they were thrown upon the auction market.[68] To survive, merchants, who were used to a market in which anything sold readily, had to learn to deal more moderately than they had in the early 1850's.

During these years, LeCount & Strong prospered. They completed a large building by May 19, 1853. LeCount, in New York at the time, decided to remain there to buy books for his store. The *Alta* of May twenty-sixth, describing the new building (which impressed San Franciscans because it cost $90,000), declares it to be the best building in the state. The basement was used for storage and newspapers; the first floor, for retail rooms; and the second floor, for the wholesale trade. On the third floor there were reception rooms, private apartments, and a bindery. The fourth floor had living rooms for the clerks, and the whole building was supplied with hot and cold running water.[69]

Other dealers — Bonestell & Williston, Sullivan & Leland, Stockwell & Co., Lord & Webb, B. Loutrel, and John Connor — advertised at times, but, not being wholesalers, they (with the exception of Bonestell & Williston) did not push the sale of their books excessively.[70] Meanwhile, several new bookstores sprang up in San Francisco.

In 1854, Epes Ellery and Augustus Doyle established the Antiquarian Book Store, which was to become noted for its excellent collection of second-hand books. From Ellery's Letter Book, now in the possession of the California Historical Society, we learn that during 1853 the store had belonged to Charles Woolley, later a clerk for Kimball. The first letter (April 30, 1855, to J. P. Mendum in Boston) ordered $50 worth of "Bound editions of your liberal works," including ten volumes each of Paine's works and C. F. Volney's *Ruins*. Apparently the Antiquarian Book Store intended to cater especially to readers with rationalistic tastes, such as John Hittell, John Farrell, A. De Lachapelle, Dr. Ferdinand Loehr, and Señor Sofre, who, with others on January 29, 1854, had celebrated Tom Paine's birthday.[71] By further reference to several of their customers, the letter to Mendum implied that there were in the city enough readers of liberal works to insure a profit for Ellery & Doyle.

Included in an order of June 29, 1855, to P. J. Ceasin were requests for two dozen copies each of *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, *The Scottish Chiefs*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Tom Brown*. On the same day, the partners ordered from Garrett & Co. in New York ten copies of a cheap edition of Shakespeare's plays, six copies each of *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, *The Vestiges of the Natural History* *of Creation* (a rationalistic work), Fowler's *Phrenology*, various Spanish technical books and dictionaries, and novels published by Garrett & Co. But, the letter warned, "we do not order many novels as we can buy them here for 15 and 30 cents which is about as cheap as we can import them." In connection with the orders for *Don Quixote*, it is interesting to note that the *Golden Era* on January 23, 30, and February 6, 1853, had published John Hittell's version of the episode of the Captive Captain from it. These facts suggest that *Don Quixote* was popular reading-matter in early California. On June 29, 1855, Ellery & Doyle also ordered $300 worth of books from another New York merchant, including twenty copies of Byron's poems, 100 new novels by Paul de Kock,[72] and "the balance in any other *Fancies* that you can get hold of. . . . If you can find any *Fancys* [*sic*] in the French language anywhere in the U. S. we want $50.00 worth as there is a great demand for them here, and none to be had here, now. . . ." Such a letter indicates clearly the tastes of certain Californians for diverting books, tinged with salaciousness, in French as well as in English. To increase the stock of rationalistic works, on June thirty Ellery & Doyle ordered from Garrett & Co. $50 worth of Vale's,[73] Paine's, and Volney's works, even though, the letter concluded, "Business is very dull."

On September 19, 1855, these enterprising merchants ordered Catholic and other religious works, Spanish readers and dictionaries, and Baldwin's *Party Leaders* and his *Flush Times in Alabama*. The reference to the last two books is particularly interesting, for Joseph G. Baldwin of Alabama had settled in San Francisco by 1855, and was to become a justice of the Supreme Court of the state. Subsequent Ellery & Doyle letters requested (in this order) such books as Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, George Bancroft's *A Life of Washington*, Chesterfield's *Letters*, Aristotle's works (25 copies), and works by Shakespeare, Byron, Cervantes, Tom Paine, and Volney, among numerous others. The letters throw light on the practices of a firm of careful booksellers at a time when wholesalers had expanded too greatly. From the repetition of several titles in the orders, an idea can be got, also, of the types of books which San Franciscans were requesting over and over again.

Two of the other new book shops specialized in the sale of religious works for Protestants: A. Higbie & Co.[74] (later to be absorbed by the Methodist Book Concern), and J. E. Allen & Co. (dealers in works published by the American Tract Society as well as standard works).[75] Higbie & Co.'s notice in the *Pacific* of March 3, 1854, declares that the store had "Anthon's Classical Series; Bohn's Classical and Standard Works; Appleton's Popular; Harper's Family Works; Parley's Cabinet Works; Abbott's Histories; Also books in Spanish, French, German, Italian, and Chinese." This last item is noteworthy because it shows at what an early date books were sold in California for those who read the Chinese language.

The first woman to sell books in San Francisco, Mrs. Jane N. Still, established a small shop in April 1854.[76] She was the recent bride of John H. Still, who had failed in business a short time before the opening of her store on Kearny Street, opposite the Post Office.[77] Here she sold new novels, newspapers, and stationery until August twelfth, when she announced in the *Alta,* with a touch of feminine charm, that she had moved her stock to a larger building on Kearny, two doors north of Commercial Street. Eight days later she offered $100 reward to anyone who could prove to an impartial committee that the Boston *Transcript* (of which she was the California agent) was not the best newspaper published in the United States, excelling eighteen others of Boston, thirty-one of New York, and forty-five of other American cities, which she also had for sale. On September 2, 1854, she notified the readers of the *Alta* that she had formed a partnership with Charles S. Wood (a friend of her husband), but we do not find significant announcements for the firm after November 14, 1854. However, the *Bulletin* of October 17, 1855, shows that John H. Still owned the New York Cheap Bookstore; thereafter, he always prided himself on being the oldest book dealer in San Francisco.

The changes in the ownership of one concern and the type of business it developed show what certain merchants did when the market for books was becoming glutted. Early in 1853, Gihon, Johnson & Butler imported numerous books, including *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*[78] After T. R. Johnson withdrew in August,[79] Gihon & Butler became book auctioneers, and had regular sales of stock which they accepted on consignment from the east. It would appear that these sales were mainly for merchants in other parts of the state. By January 18, 1854, B. F. Butler (an engraver) became sole owner, and John Gihon associated himself with Frank Soulé as one of the editors of the *Annals of San Francisco.* On March 15, 1854, Butler sold his interest to Nathaniel Gray, already known as an undertaker. Gray did not prosper in the book business, for shortly thereafter his advertisements as an auctioneer ceased.

Additional signs of an overexpansion in the book trade are seen in the notices for other new stores — Loewy, Barron & Co.,[80] John McGlashan & Co.,[81] Hibben & Co.,[82] George F. Murray,[83] and M. Ullman.[84] Also, at Thomas Tennant's store, one could buy works on navigation.[85]

Special and general stores expanded their trade in books in foreign languages. De Massey and his friend, Finance, continued as owners of the French and Spanish Book Store, the pioneer establishment of this type in the state.[86] On April 2, 1853, an announcement in the *Alta* stated that they had received "the largest and finest assortment of Spanish and French books in this city — Novels, Histories, Law and Scientific Books," and on October 1, 1854, a notice in *L'Echo du Pacifique* says: On a reçu par la *Sainte-Anne* et les derniers steamers, pour vendre en gros ou en detail: 500 volumes reliés choises parmi les meilleurs et les plus nouveaux ouvrages publiés à Paris, dans la littérature, les sciences, les romans. 1000 brochures illustrées. Since the earlier advertisement was in English (as were several of their others), we may assume that they hoped to attract British and American as well as French customers.

The *Alta* of March 21, 1853, tells us that Pomier & Co. (owners of Le Cabinet de Lecture Français—a bookstore, circulating library, and reading room, mentioned in Part II above) sold it to William Schleiden, who had been a translator at the Custom House. The charge for using this library, we read on April tenth, was four dollars a month, at which time the store contained 18,000 volumes in English, Spanish, French, and German. By September twelfth, Schleiden had added books in Greek, Latin, Italian, and Portuguese to his stock. In *L'Echo du Pacifique* of October 1, 1854, he specified the following new French books, among others: *Théâtre Français de 1854*, *Le Pasteur d'Ashbourn* by Dumas, *La Dame aux Perles* by Dumas fils, *Le Gendre de M. Poirier*, by Augier and Sandeau, *La Marquise d'Alaf* by Sue, *La Vie en Rose* by Théodore Barrière and Paul de Kock, *La Marquise de Belverano* by Léon Gozlan, *Les Mémoires d'un Bourgeois* by Louis Véron, *La Grande Nuit* by Alphonse Viollet, *La Chasse au Lion* by Jules Gérard, *and Les Turcs et les Russes, avec Deux Cartes du Théâtre de la Guerre* by Hippolyte Lamarche. In this list of novels, dramas, travels, and accounts of current events, the dealer also mentioned *La Histoire de la Californie*,[87] indicating that Frenchmen (like Americans and the British) could learn of their new home. In *El Eco del Pacífico* of October twenty-ninth, Schleiden advertised Spanish works thus:

> Recibido por el ultimó vapor: Novelas nuevas en español, por Eugene Sue, A. Dumas y Arlincourt. *Mil i una Noches*, con 1,600 dibujos; *El Año Cristiano; Guerra entre Mejico y los Estados Unidos;* . . . *Pablo y Virginia;* . . . Obras de Medicina . . .; Obras de jurisprudencia; Obras de historia, geografía y filosofía; La voz de la Naturaleza; . . . 8,000 libras, 1, 2 y 3 catecismos, Cartillas lógicas, biblia de la juventad y obras místicas, gramáticas y diccionarios en ocho idiomas. Periodicas españoles par cada vapor de Nueva York, Mejico, Havana, Chile y Peru, etc. . . .
>
> También las obras de Calderon de la Barca, Zorilla, Quevado, Mora, Larra, Moratín, Hartzenbusch, Espronceda, Cervantes, Lopez de Vega, Breton de los Herreros.

—something of a list for serious and/or casual readers![88]

Negbaur & Co. specialized also in books in foreign languages, and their advertisement in the *Alta* of December 12, 1853, shows that the war of the booksellers was on among these firms, the Negbaur partners offering to sell books wholesale or retail "cheaper than any other house in the city." Competition became severe, for there were three new bookstores for readers of European languages. La Seule Librarie was owned by Fay & Cie. of Paris. They asserted in *L'Echo du Pacifique* of October 1, 1854, that the stock included 1,200 miscellaneous works by the best authors, 500 plays, works by Balzac, Dumas, Scribe, Henri Murger, Alphonse Karr, Paul de Kock, and Emile Souvestre, as well as dictionaries, grammars, and songs. By January 1, 1853, Esche Brothers & Co. sold German, Spanish, and English books,[89] and by early 1854, Henri Payot owned a periodical depot, which later became a store and circulating library for foreign works.[90] Also, Solerer y Sinton, we read in *El Eco del Pacifico* of October 29, 1854, sold Spanish books at auction.

In Sacramento, Stockton, and Marysville, business practices followed those of San Francisco. Curle Brothers of Sacramento advertised the second edition of the now celebrated *Chips of the Old Block* by Alonzo Delano[91] (humorous sketches reprinted from California newspapers) in the Stockton *Republican* of January 2, 1854. Copies of this book, printed by the Sacramento *Union*, were sent to San Francisco for sale.[92] When Barber & Baker, printers of Sacramento, issued *Sacramento Illustrated*, they announced it in the *Union* of July 6, 1855, as "suitable for mailing to friends in the Atlantic States. . . . forming the largest pictorial work ever issued in the State. For sale at the bookstores and office of publication." The vagueness of the phrase "at the bookstores" is typical of notices in Sacramento newspapers; readers and concert-goers knew where to get books and tickets — from Curle Bros.,[93] Gardiner & Kirk[94] (successors to the Curles), Charles Binney (the agent for LeCount), J. Bithell,[95] and E. E. Griggs.[96] Although few of these firms specified their stock in the columns of the Sacramento *Union*, we see on March 12, 1855, that Gardiner & Kirk offered the public Dickens' latest work *The Seven Poor Travelers*, a current anti-slavery novel entitled *Ida May*, Baldwin's *Party Leaders*, biographical sketches by G. Bungay entitled *Off-Hand Takings*, and B. P. Shillaber's *Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington.*

In Stockton a circulating library at Burton's News Depot included the novels of Scott, Cooper, Bulwer, and others;[97] later the firm boasted that it had "A complete assortment of books and stationery, the largest ever received, and comprising the largest stock ever before offered in Stockton,"[98] and that it was an agent for Benton's *Thirty Years' View.*[99] At the same time Rosenbaum & Joachimssen, and Stevenson & McLean, had "constantly on hand a General Assortment of Histories, Poetical Works, Medical Works."[100]

At the beginning of 1853, Eddy & Brother (LeCount's agents) owned the chief book shop in Marysville, but shortly three competitors — the News Emporium, Dewitt Taplin, and Mrs. C. Brown — began to sell periodicals and a few books.[101] At the Eddys, one could select poetry from Chaucer to Longfellow in the Philips & Sampson's editions of twenty-six volumes, of which the editor of the *Herald* wrote on January 29, 1853: "They present an interesting variety in the bibliopolist line." About the middle of 1854, when the Eddys sold out, Langton & Co. of Downieville took over LeCount's agency.[102] The overexpansion of this trade in Marysville is shown by the fact that a new dealer, James T. Lloyd, went after customers in the mining district by advertising his store in the *Sierra Citizen* of Downieville on November 18, 1854. Some months later, Gustave & O. Amy, from Louisiana, purchased Phelps & Co.'s bookstore, and during the next few years the Amy brothers occupied a leading position among the book dealers of Marysville.

Signs of cultivation in matters of taste in the mining district began to appear early in the 1850's. John D. Borthwick, an English artist, wrote of the luxurious life one could lead in Sonora and Downieville as early as 1852, with theaters, warm baths, sherry cobblers, iced-cocktails, and ice-creams.[103] According to Bancroft, by 1851 Nevada City had two hospitals, a church and school, and by 1854 Placerville had two theaters.[104] Franklin Buck, mentioned previously, described for his sister the changing social life of Weaverville. He opined on July 6, 1852, that society "is decidedly bad,"[105] and later described the rough dances, horse races, and cock fights; but on November 11, 1854, he wrote that a dancing school was improving graces in town and that traveling actors performed at the theater. The conversation among intelligent miners and merchants, we learn from Buck, was not provincial, for it turned on such topics as "the fate of nations, the siege of Sebastapole, the possibilities of a war with Spain,"[106] and books, such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *David Copperfield.* Mrs. Sarah Royce, the wife of a merchant and a woman of literary taste, taught school at Grass Valley during the early 1850's;[107] her son Josiah, the future philosopher, was born there in 1855.

That much of the intellectual life of these mining towns emanated from the bookstores can be seen in the types of books offered for sale. For instance, Daniel G. Waldron & Co. at Coloma had copies of the standard poets; Gibbon's, Macaulay's, and George Bancroft's histories; and Webster's complete works.[108] Vincent & Co. of Coloma (successors to Waldron & Co.) offered Benton's *Thirty Years' View* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for sale, and asserted that the store contained 3,000 novels.[109] Langton's store at Downieville received the works of the standard poets, histories and biographies by Lamartine, Lockhart, and Rollin; a history of California by John Frost; scientific works by Thomas Dick; essays by Addison, Swift, Lamb, Irving, and N. P. Willis; and fiction by Sterne, Scott, Thackeray, Dickens, Cooper, Fredrika Bremer, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Eugene Sue.[110] We read in the Shasta *Courier* of March 12, 1853, that Anton Roman's bookshop had, for sale to readers in the Trinity Mountains, "*The Necromancer, Parricide, Quentin Matsys, Fair Rosamond, Amy Lawrence, Mob Cap, Rose Ashford, Maurice Tierny, Daltons, Stanley Thorn, Lady Felicia, Fortune Teller,* works of Shakespeare, Byron, Milton, Gray, Campbell, and other distinguished poets." Roman's rival at that time was G. W. King,[111] who published the view of Shasta reproduced in Part II above.

Owners of other stores in the mining region listed fewer authors and titles than did those of Coloma, Downieville, and Shasta. The Franklin Literary Depot at Columbia, for example, had the works of "the best poetic authors," and various histories and romances.[112] The four book shops[113] at near-by Sonora, which catered to a population of over 10,000,[114] stocked similar works. One of these stores was owned by the editor of the Sonora *Herald*, Dr. Lewis Gunn, whose family papers reflect the growing cultural life in that town.[115] W. T. Gibbs at Georgetown[116] advertised in the *Golden Era* of July 2, 1854, that he was a wholesaler and retailer who "has just returned from Sacramento with the largest and best stock of Books and Stationery ever brought to Georgetown, all of which will be sold at very low prices." At Jackson, the News Depot owned by Wesley Jackson had "A large supply of Books and Stationery."[117] There were three bookstores at Nevada City,[118] and two at Grass Valley[119] (five miles away) when 15,000 to 35,000 people were living in the surrounding region.[120] At Auburn, the office of Wells, Fargo & Co. had Delano's *Chips of the Old Block* for sale,[121] and Oberdeener's book shop there was worth $1,000 when it burned in 1855.[122] J. Coffin owned a book and periodical depot at Mokelumne Hill.[123] The Book & Variety Store at Bidwell (on the Feather River, now a ghost town) stocked poetical and miscellaneous works, novels, and school books.[124] Anton Roman, expanding his business at Shasta, established a branch store which sold "miscellaneous and standard works" in Yreka,[125] about 125 miles north of Shasta. Possibly books from this store were bought for a library by the miners of Canal Gulch, who left them to Burton B. Porter when they drifted away after the surface gold gave out.[126]

It was in 1854 that a bookseller near Nevada City told Bishop William I. Kip of the Episcopal Diocese that miners requested "classical works on these [mining] and on every other scientific subject. Astronomy seemed to be a particular favorite with them."[127] These words, even more than the number of shops we can enumerate, testify to the value of the book trade, to the informed minds, and to the serious interests among men who had a full supply of fiction at hand. There must have been a bracing intellectual air in the largest mining towns.

At that time profits must have been high. Shortly after Charles Palmer (previously mentioned as a bookseller at Ophir) entered in his diary that his profits amounted to three-fifths of his income, he bought out Marvin & Hitchcock's interest in his store; when he returned to the east in May 1853 he was worth $15,000 cash or $50,000 as invested, representing returns from an express and banking business in addition to the selling of books.[128]

Palmer & (Roger Sherman) Baldwin's "Day Book" (manuscript, in collection of Wells Fargo Bank of San Francisco) has a few entries relating to their purchase and sale of books and periodicals between April 23 and September 30, 1853. On the former date, Charles T. Blake (their friend from Yale) purchased eighty-eight novels at twenty cents each, which suggests that Blake was buying books wholesale for his periodical depot at Iowa Hill, where he was agent for the *Golden Era.* On May first, C. W. Foster bought a copy of Benton's *California Pilgrim,* and on May tenth Palmer & Baldwin accepted consignments of that book amounting to $16.50. Such entries illustrate the way in which books, published in San Francisco, were distributed throughout the mining district. Other entries, for instance those of June 24 and August 20, 1853, show that Palmer & Baldwin (who had branch express-offices at Auburn, Newcastle, Gold Hill, and Rattlesnake) paid J. W. Sullivan of San Francisco $9.90 and $2.25 for novels; but, as a rule, entries in the "Day Book" do not specify the types of purchases the partners made from Marvin & Hitchcock, which are listed merely as "merchandise" or "sundries." In 1854, Palmer & Baldwin were agents for the *Golden Era* at Ophir and Rattlesnake; and Blake was agent for the same paper in Yankee Jim and Michigan City, in addition to Iowa Hill.

Even in Weaverville, in the heart of the Trinity Mountains, one could secure the most recent books. Buck wrote from there on September 19, 1854, to his sister in Maine: "H. B. Davidson keeps a book and drug store right opposite ours."[129] From a copy of *The Acting Drama: a Selection of Standard Plays* (now in my possession) we learn what the nature of his stock was, because a store plate in this volume bears these words:

FROM
H. B. Davison & Co.
Dealers in
DRUGS, MEDICINES, PERFUMERY.
FANCY AND TOILET ARTICLES
Also, NOVELS, HISTORIES, POETICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, STATIONERY of all kinds
Main St., Sign of the Golden Mortar,
WEAVERVILLE.

Buck wrote on March 19, 1855, to his sister concerning current books which they had discussed in their letters: "York, the bookseller, here, has recently returned from the States and brought out all the new books you mention." Probably "York" was Davison's nickname, for I have found no record of a second bookstore in Weaverville, and Buck implies that the town had only one; at any rate, this statement, indicative of the close social ties between the east and the mountains of California, shows that certain merchants there secured books directly from the publishing centers of the United States.

But at remote camps, according to the memoirs of Obed Wilson of Maine, books were rare. He recalled that in the winter of 1854, at Camp Warren in the mountains beyond Downieville: "The little reading matter available was of the most ordinary character, and very expensive. One was compelled to pay . . . an exorbitant price for books; consequently but a small proportion of the miners gave much of that long season of enforced idleness to reading."[130] When Wilson lived in Marysville during the winter of 1855, he sent books to his friends in the mountains. The phrase "season of enforced idleness" goes far to explain why the book trade flourished: miners who did not care to live riotously wanted quiet diversions. Many of them had been habitual readers from childhood; a number of them (as Bishop Kip was surprised to learn)[131] had been college trained.

Between 1853 and 1855 the book trade reached a few towns in the farming region of the state. By July 7, 1854, according to the San Jose *Weekly Tribune*, A. Birgham & Co. (possibly successors to Elliott Reed, previously mentioned) had "a large assortment of standard Poetical, Historical and Miscellaneous works, Gift-books, Annuals; also the most popular scientific works, and all the different kinds of School books as approved and adopted by the best teachers in this State." F. Perring was the partner in this firm, and on February 1, 1855,[132] he appears to have sold out his interest, the new firm becoming Loewy Bros. & Birgham.[133] At the same time, M. M. de Massey[134] & Cantenat may have had a bookstall in San Jose, for they were listed as agents for *L'Echo du Pacifique* on October 24, 1854.

At Los Angeles, C. Ducommun sold books in his jewelry store;[135] but his stock must have been very small, because Harris Newmark, a merchant from Germany who knew the jeweler well, did not mention Ducommun's books in his memoirs, and asserted that it was in 1871 that the first dealer began to sell books in Los Angeles.[136]

At Monterey, Alexander Taylor, California's first bibliographer, was the agent for LeCount & Strong;[137] he published his *Sketches Connected with California History* there in 1855.

North of San Francisco at Petaluma, S. C. Haydon advertised in the *Weekly Journal* of December 22, 1855, that he had the works of Shakespeare, Byron, Moore, and other writers for sale in his book and drug store.

T. W. Jones was the agent for LeCount & Strong at Benicia,[138] then famous for its schools—the Young Ladies' Seminary (which later became Mills College), the Rev. Mr. C. M. Blake's school for boys (later St. Augustine's College), and St. Catherine's convent school. Samuel C. Gray's "Daily Journal" (manuscript, California Historical Society) shows that his general store at Benicia sold a few school books between May 10, 1852, and May 31, 1854. The most interesting entries of June 7, August 2, and October 10, 1853, show that he sold two copies of *Historia de los Estados Unidos* to J. W. Jones and one copy to J. Hatch. Other entries record sales of *Spanish Dictionaries*, Ollendorff's *Spanish Grammars* and his *Keys*, Meadows' *Dictionaries*, Smith's *Grammars*, McGuffy's *Fourth Readers*, and hymn books to C. M. Blake, the Benicia Female Seminary, Jones, Hatch, D. N. Hastings, and W. H. Storey. These entries remind us that Genevra Octavia Tompkins, in Bret Harte's "Muck-a-Muck," "spoke French with a perfect Benicia accent." Apparently during the 1860's (which Harte knew better than the 1850's), French was more commonly taught at Benicia than Spanish.

We know also that some general merchants in very small settlements sold books, because S. T. Coulter's records of his store at Franklin (near Petaluma) include the following entries:[139]

Nov. 1, 1853	To S. T. Power	2 books, novels	$2.00
Dec. 31, 1853	To James E. Crane	1 book	
Jan. 1, 1854	To Sam Jewell	1 book	
Jan. 13, 1854	To Wm. Noel	1 book	
Jan. 14, 1854	To J. W. Noel	1 book	

At the same time, H. H. Bancroft was selling a few books at Crescent City, where he clerked in a general store.[140] Farmers who wished books were invited constantly to order them from the office of the *California Farmer* (established in 1854). In towns such as San Diego and Santa Barbara, where there were apparently no booksellers, the residents could see the advertisements of San Francisco merchants in the local papers.

(To be continued)

NOTES

46. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, Chapt. XVIII, and VII, 717 ff; Frederick Hall, *History of San Jose* (San Francisco, 1871), pp. 247 & 259; William W. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936* (Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Store, 1937), *passim;* and Rockwell D. Hunt, *History of the College of the Pacific* (Stockton, 1950), pp. 5 ff. Tutors commonly taught the Spanish language in San Francisco during the 1850's; see *Alta,* July 1, Aug. 1, 1851, and Jan. 3, 1853; also *Golden Era,* Sept. 11, 1853. For an advertisement of a pension, *see* S. F. *Bulletin,* Apr. 1, 1856.

47. Monterey Library Association, *Constitution and Rules* (San Francisco, 1854), p. 3. *See also,* Hugh C. Baker, "Reading Tastes in California, 1849-1859" (unpublished dissertation, Stanford University, 1950), Chapter II.

48. *Journal, Cal. Sen.*, 1850 (San Jose, 1850), p. 56; *Alta,* Jan. 22, 1851; Feb. 5 and May 17, 1852; *Annals of San Francisco, op. cit.*, p. 715; and Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-16.

49. *Alta,* Dec. 23 and 24, 1852; Jan. 9, 11, 16, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26; Feb. 2, 19; and March 1 and 2, 1853. *See also* S. F. Mercantile Library, *Catalogue* (San Francisco, 1854), 25-34.

50. Frank L. Fenton, "The San Francisco Theatre, 1850-1859" (unpublished dissertation, Stanford University, 1941), *passim;* George B. MacMinn, *Theatre of the Golden Era in California* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1941), *passim; San Francisco Theatre Research Monographs* (San Francisco, 1938), First Series, I-IV, *passim;* and Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 461, 467, 468, and 471.

51. *Alta,* Oct. 20, 1853.

52. For a biographical sketch of Taylor, *see* Robert S. Cowan, "Alexander S. Taylor, 1817-1876, First Bibliographer of California," this QUARTERLY, XII (March 1933), 18-24.

53. A sketch of Benton is given by Samuel H. Willey in *Joseph Augustine Benton, in Memorial* (San Francisco, 1892), pp. 15-22.

54. Edward J. C. Kewen was the first attorney-general of California; he resigned his office in 1850, practiced law in San Francisco, and by 1857 had settled in Los Angeles. He was a popular orator of the day. *See* Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 314; and Oscar Shuck, ed., *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific* (San Francisco, 1870), 341-59.

55. For Lindley and Ridge as authors of this novel, *see* Coulter, *op. cit.*, p. 36. Apparently no copies of this edition are extant.

56. Franklin Walker, *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* (New York, 1939), 45-54.

57. Franklin Buck, *A Yankee Trader in the Gold Rush* (Boston, 1930), p. 142.

58. In the *Alta* of Aug. 21, 1854, Bonestell & Williston announced a second edition. The copy in the library of the California Historical Society is dated 1855. For useful lists of books printed in California, see the Cowans' *A Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific West, 1510-1930* (San Francisco, 1933); and U. S. W. P. A. American Imprints Inventory, No. 31, *Check List of California Non-Documentary Imprints*, 1833-1855 (San Francisco, 1942).

59. In San Francisco second-hand bookstores, one may see copies of Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, Vol. I, with LeCount & Strong's name on the title-page. Their name, however, did not appear on the title-page of the second volume, published in 1856.

60. Parker's S. F. *Directory*, 1852-53, p. 2 (adv. sec.).

61. The *California Chronicle*, Nov. 21, 1853, shows that Burgess has withdrawn from the firm; and in the *Herald*, Jan. 23, 1854, Gilbert may be seen to have done likewise. LeCount & Strong's *S. F. Directory*, 1854, lists Gilbert as a clerk in the store owned by John H. Still. Burgess was a book publisher in New York for a short time thereafter. Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 77, says that Still "disposed of the business to his brother-in-law, George W. Hazleton" by Feb. 6; in a letter to his mother, Still said that he had lost "over $15,000 through the rascality of Burgess and Gilbert," that he sold newspapers, and that he gave the profits to his wife for starting a store. Still advertised as a newspaper agent "At the Bookstore of G. W. Hazleton" in the *Alta*, Feb. 28, 1854. For Mrs. Jane Still, *see* note 76 below.

62. The *Uncle Sam* was a weekly printed in Boston, but bore Kimball's name as publisher.

63. Bernard De Voto, *Mark Twain's America* (Boston, 1932), esp. pp. 95-97, and 338-39.

64. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, *op. cit.*, p. 141

65. *Pacific*, Sept. 16, 1854. A picture of the store appears in LeCount & Strong's S. F. *Directory* for 1854.

66. For a notice of an additional auction, see *California Chronicle*, Jan. 12, 1856.

67. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 173.

68. For examples of notices of book auctions in San Francisco, see *Alta*, Apr. 18, 20; May 21; June 25; Dec. 1, 1853; and *California Chronicle*, July 13 and Nov. 27, 1854.

69. A picture of this building was printed on a map of San Francisco, 1854, issued by Bixby in Philadelphia, and was printed in the *Golden Era*, Apr. 2, 1854. LeCount & Strong announced in the *Herald* (Jan. 1, 1854) that John G. Hodge had joined their partnership.

70. According to the S. F. *Directories* for 1856, Bonestell & Williston, Stockwell, Loutrell, and John Connor were out of business; D. S. Lord & Co. (successors to Lord & Webb) sold blank books and stationery; Sullivan was a news agent, and J. A. Gilbert sold newspapers in the old post-office building. A picture of Bonestell & Williston's store appears in the holiday edition of *Wide West*, 1854. (The only *complete* file of *Wide West*, known to me, is at Yale University.)

71. *Herald*, Jan. 29 and 30, 1854. Hittell, from Ohio, was on the editorial staff of the *Alta*, later of the *California Chronicle;* a pantheist, he was the chief exponent of free thought in the state in the 1850's. For biographical sketches of him, see *Dictionary of American Biography;* Amos Bowman, "Newspaper Matter" (manuscript, Bancroft Library); *Quarterly*, Soc. Calif. Pioneers, II (March 1925), 19-20.

De Lachapelle was editor and publisher of *Le Messager;* Loehr was publisher of the *California Demokrat;* and Sofre was on the staff of *El Eco del Pacífico.*

72. Paul de Kock (1794-1871) was a French novelist and dramatist who described bourgeois life.

73. G. Vale wrote *Fanaticism* (1835), a *Life of Thomas Paine* (1841), and *On the Spirit of the Times* (1846).

74. *Alta*, June 14 and Sept. 2, 1853.

75. The American Tract Society was distributing booklets in San Francisco as early as 1850; see *Alta*, May 8 and 11, 1851.

76. *Alta*, Apr. 14, 1854.

77. Chambers, *op. cit.*, 77-78. See also *Herald*, Apr. 14, and *Alta*, Apr. 16, 1854.

78. *Alta*, Apr. 22, 1853.

79. *Pacific*, Sept. 2, 1853. *Alta*, Sept. 4, shows that Gihon & Butler's Masonic Hall Book and Stationery Store will "sell books, stationery, oriental goods, art goods, pictures and toilet articles," and books in foreign languages at daily auctions. The firm advertised in the *Golden Era*, Nov. 20, 1853, "Booksellers, auctioneers, engravers, and lithographers." *See also* Butler papers in library of California Historical Society. Gihon & Butler's copartnership papers are dated Aug. 31, 1853.

80. *Alta*, Dec. 24, 1853; in February 1854 the firm became Loewy Bros. & Birgham. *See* also note 133. The Loewy brothers were William and Herman.

81. *Herald*, Jan. 1, 1854; advertisement for second edition of *Chips of the Old Block.*

82. *Alta*, June 6, 1853; Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, Butler's *Hudibras*, J. Bonomi's *Nineveh and its Palaces*, Ida Pfeiffer's travels, etc., are listed.

83. *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1853; Murray was formerly a bookdealer in Sacramento; *see* Part II, p. 109 above. A list of new books (including Baldwin's *Party Leaders* and Taylor's *Journey to Central Africa*) is given in the *Alta*, Oct. 19, 1854.

84. *Pioneer*, III, Jan. 1855. Another new firm, Park & Tyler, advertised in the *Golden Era*, Dec. 3, 1854, "Novels received in Exchange for others."

85. *Alta*, July 13, 1853.

86. *See* Part I above, p. 102.

87. This book was probably *Histoire Chretienne de la Californie* par Madame la Comtesse de * * * Plancy (1851); *see* Cowan, *op. cit.*, as listed.

88. Since only a few copies of French newspapers published in San Francisco before 1860 are extant, it is not possible to find a comprehensive list of French fiction available to readers in the city at that time; but a few advertisements mentioned the names of Chateaubriand, Balzac, Dumas, É. Souvestre, P. de Kock, and Henry Murger. None of the advertisements which I have seen named Prévost, Hugo, Mérimee, Stendhal, Gautier, or Flaubert; however, by 1860, the San Francisco Mercantile Library owned novels by Prévost and Hugo.

89. *Alta*, Jan. 1, 1853.

90. A notice in *Le Phare*, Jan. 3, 1856, shows that the store was owned by Vincent & Payot. According to "California Notes" by "Pioneer," Payot of South Carolina had been "factotum" for Bonestell & Williston; his native tongue was French, but he spoke English fluently, and could buy and sell in "Spanish, German, Italian, Chinese, or other languages of our cosmopolitan city" (*American Stationer*, July 25, 1876; clipping in Payot Papers, California Historical Society Library).

91. Auburn *Placer Herald*, Nov. 17, 1853. A Spanish version was printed that year in Los Angeles. The first edition consisted of 15,000 copies; a second edition appeared in 1854. See also *Pen-Knife Sketches* (ed. by George E. Dane, San Francisco, 1934).

92. *Herald*, Jan. 1, 1854; *see* note 81 above.

93. On July 6, 1854, the *Herald* reported R. M. Curle's death in Cincinnati, Ohio, and said that he had "amassed in this country a handsome fortune by honorable industry."

94. Sacramento *Union*, March 12 and July 11, 1855. That year, Gardiner & Kirk published Jeremiah V. Craine's *The Conspirator's Victim; or, the Life and Adventures of C. V. Craine, who was Hung at Colma* [*sic*], *Calif. Oct. 26, 1855.*

95. *Wide West,* Mar. 19, 1854; Sacramento *Union,* Dec. 19, 1855. In 1854, Bithell published C. W. Sanders' *The School Reader; Fourth Book.*

96. *Union,* Dec. 23, 1854. In the *Golden Era* from July 17 to Sept. 11, 1853, we see advertisements for John J. Hutchinson's bookstore.

97. Stockton *Republican,* Feb. 26, and *Golden Era,* Nov. 20, 1853.

98. *Republican,* Jan. 2, 1854.

99. *Ibid.,* Feb. 2, 1854.

100. *Ibid.,* Jan. 2, 1854. In 1855, J. F. Rosenbaum published a view of Stockton with a picture of his store in the upper left-hand corner.

101. *Marysville Directory,* 1853 (Marysville, 1853). The Eddys stocked miscellaneous, law, school, and mercantile books, musical instruments, and stationery.

102. *Alta,* Aug. 18, 1854. Colville's *Marysville Directory,* 1855 (San Francisco, 1855), p. xxii, has an advertisement for Eddys' store in Sacramento; however, they rarely, if ever, advertised in Sacramento newspapers.

103. J. D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh, 1857), pp. 237 and 328-31.

104. Bancroft, *op. cit.,* VI, 468 and 471.

105. Buck, *op. cit.,* p. 100.

106. *Ibid.,* p. 150.

107. Sarah Royce, *A Frontier Lady* (New Haven, 1932), *passim.* The *Alta* frequently mentioned improvements in society with the arrival of wives in the state.

108. *Empire County Argus,* Feb. 18, 1853.

109. *Ibid.,* Jan. 20, 1855.

110. *Sierra Citizen,* Nov. 18, 1854. The *Golden Era,* June 11, 1854, shows that Langton & Co. had branch offices at Foster's Bar, Goodyear's Bar, and French Corral.

111. *See* Part II above, p. 112. The Shasta *Courier,* June 18, 1853, reported that Roman's stock was valued at $3,000 when it was burned.

112. *Columbia Gazette,* Apr. 16, 1853. For references to stores at Placerville and Georgetown, *see* Part II above, p. 111.

113. Reported in the *Alta,* Oct. 31, 1853. Woods & Purdy advertised in the Sonora *Union Democrat* on July 29, 1854, and Roberts & Yaney on Oct. 28, 1854. *See also,* Edna Buckbee, *Saga of Old Tuolumne* (New York, 1935), 201-208 and 226-29.

114. Census report, 1852.

115. Lewis C. and Elizabeth LeBreton Gunn, *Records of a California Family,* ed. by Anna Lee Marsten (San Diego, 1928), *passim,* especially p. 232.

116. *See* note 38 above.

117. *Golden Era,* Oct. 29, 1854.

118. *Ibid.,* Apr. 2, 1854. *Ibid.,* May 15, 1853, for advertisement of A. W. Porter & H. C. Hodge; and Mar. 26, 1854, for advertisement and picture of Stiles' Nevada Book Store.

119. Grass Valley *Telegraph,* Jan. 16, 1855, for Kirk Bros. (formerly Curle Bros. of Sacramento); and *ibid.,* Apr. 17, for Marks & Witowski.

120. Bancroft, *op. cit.,* VI, 471.

121. Placer *Herald,* Nov. 19, 1853. Delano was the agent for Wells Fargo & Co. and the *Golden Era* at Grass Valley.

122. *Ibid.,* June 9, 1855.

123. *Ibid.,* Jan. 1, 1854.

124. *Butte Record,* Nov. 26, 1853. It reported on Aug. 12, 1854, that the store was worth $3,000.

125. Yreka *Weekly Union,* Nov. 24, 1855. The *Golden Era,* Oct. 29, 1854, listed Parker & Roman as its agent in Yreka; A. Roman had the agency at Shasta.

126. Burton B. Porter, *One of the People* (n.p., 1907), p. 51.

127. William I. Kip, *Early Days of My Episcopate* (New York, 1892), p. 147.

128. Palmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 ff (see Part II above, pp. 111 and 113).

129. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 143. Buck spelled the dealer's name Davidson, but the store plate gives Davison.

130. Obed Wilson, *My Adventures in the Sierras* (Franklin, Ohio, 1902), p. 26.

131. Kip, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.

132. San Jose *Tribune* of that date.

133. Loewy Bros. had been booksellers in San Francisco; *see* note 80 above.

134. A. A. de Massey owned a bookstore in San Jose by May 22, 1857.

135. Los Angeles *Star*, May 14, 1853.

136. Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California* (Boston, 1930), pp. 68 and 428.

137. San Francisco *Herald*, March 7, 1854. *See* note 52 above.

138. *Alta*, Aug. 18, 1854.

139. S. T. Coulter, Records of Store at Franklin, California (manuscript, in possession of the Coulter family of Santa Rosa).

140. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BAUER, HELEN
California Mission Days. N. Y., Doubleday [c1951] 126 p. illus. $2.50.

BROWER, DAVID R., ed.
Going Light with Backpack or Burro. San Francisco, Sierra Club, 1951. xiv, 152 p. $2.00.

CALIFORNIA (STATE)
California Blue Book, 1950. [Sacramento, State Printing Office, 1951] 1087 p. illus. $7.50.

CAROSSO, VINCENT P.
The California Wine Industry, 1830-1895; a Study of the Formative Years. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951. 241 p. map. $3.75.

CLELAND, ROBERT GLASS
The Cattle on a Thousand Hills; Southern California, 1850-1880. San Marino, The Huntington Library, 1951. xvi, 365 p. illus. $5.00. [new ed.]

EVANS, HENRY HERMAN
Western Bibliographies. San Francisco, The Peregrine Press, 1951. [3] 40 [3] p. $10.00.

HIGHWAY 50 ASSOCIATION
Highway 50 Wagon Train Caravan, Placerville to Stateline, July 14 to 22, 1951. [Placerville, Mountain Democrat, 1951] 32 p. illus. 50 cents.

KENT, ELIZABETH T.
William Kent, Independent; a Biography. [San Francisco? 1951] iii, 421 p. illus. Privately published.

[MONTEREY FOUNDATION]
Old Monterey; Doorway to History. [San Francisco, H. S. Crocker Co., 1951] [23 p.] illus., maps. $1.50.

NORWORTH, HOWARD
The Pathway of the Padres. Los Angeles, Shield-Way Publishing Co., 1951. 114 p. illus., maps. $1.50.

ROBINETTE, VIVIEN
We Moved to California; a Travel Book. N. Y., Exposition Press [1951] 103 p. Apply to publisher.

SAMUELSON, RUBE
The Rose Bowl Game. N. Y., Doubleday, 1951. 299 p. illus. $3.50.

WAY, FREDERICK, JR.
The Saga of the *Delta Queen*. Cincinnati, Picture Marine Publishing Co., 1951. 128 p. $3.00.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

June 1, 1951, to September 1, 1951

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. JAMES ABAJIAN, San Francisco — [Sons of Revolutionary Sires] . . . *Its Origin, Names of Officers, Constitution, By-Laws* . . . San Francisco, 1876.

From MR. CLYDE ARBUCKLE, San Jose — Legal briefs for the following cases: *Franklin Moss . . . vs. The Southern Pacific Railroad Company* . . . [San Francisco, 1876]; *William McKenzie . . . vs. Harvey Dickinson* . . . San Francisco, 1870; *George Barstow vs. City Railroad Company* . . . San Francisco, 1871; *Edward P. Reed vs. Robert Allison* . . . Los Angeles [187-?]; *Matilda C. Gray vs. Santiago Brignardello* . . . [n.p., 1863]; *Santiago Brignardello vs. Franklina C. Gray* . . . N. Y., 1862; *John B. Ward vs. T. W. Mulford and D. M. Smith* . . . San Francisco, 1868; *Thomas M. Hanson vs. James S. McCue* . . . San Francisco, 1870; *Magdaline Argenti vs. The City of San Francisco* . . . [San Francisco, 1862]; *Felix Argenti vs. The City of San Francisco* . . . San Francisco [1864]; *M. Argenti vs. E. D. Sawyer* . . . San Francisco, 1867; *The People vs. Parks . . . Argument of John Reynolds Upon the Validity of the Debris Tax.* San Jose, 1881; *Felix Argenti vs. The City of San Francisco* . . . [San Francisco] 1859; *M. Argenti vs. The City of San Francisco* . . . San Francisco [1864]; . . . *Hahn vs. Kelly* . . . San Francisco, 1867; *John K. Moore vs. J. C. Beideman* . . . [n.p.] 1866; *Frederick W. Sharon vs. David S. Terry* [n.p., n.d.]; *Sarah Althea Sharon vs. Frederick W. Sharon* . . . San Francisco, 1887; *A. Pfister vs. Harry Wade and George D. Bliss* . . . San Francisco, 1881; *In the Matter of the Estate of James L. Flood, Deceased. Petition of Constance May Gavin for Partial Distribution* . . . [n.p., n.d.]; *Ellen M. Colton vs. Leland Stanford* . . . San Francisco, 1885; *Heinlen vs. Martin* . . . San Jose, 1881; *San Felipe Mining Company vs. M. W. Belshaw* . . . San Francisco, 1873; and *Charles L. Wilson vs. Samuel Brannan* . . . San Francisco, 1864.

From MR. ROBERT BARKER, Placerville — Highway 50 Association. *Highway 50 Wagon Train Caravan; Placerville to Stateline, July 14 to 22, 1951.* [Placerville, 1951]

From MRS. HELEN BAUER, Pasadena — Her: *California Mission Days.* N. Y. [c1951]

From MR. L. BURR BELDEN, San Bernardino — Loehr, Helen, comp. *Pioneers.* San Bernardino, 1949; Smith, Gerald A. *Kaneeno and the Great Deer.* Redlands, 1951; and six local history articles currently appearing as part of the San Bernardino Centennial series, authored by the donor, in the *San Bernardino Sun-Telegram.*

From MRS. MAY HELENE BACON BOGGS, San Francisco — [Bush, W. D.] *Perpetual Diary for the Pacific Coast.* [n.p., 1877]

From MRS. ALICE WRAY DEACON, Lakeport — Her: *Scottslandia; a Romantic History of Scotts Valley.* Lower Lake, 1948.

From MR. D. C. DEMAREST, Berkeley — His: *Has the Mother Lode Seen Its Finish?* Oakland, 1951; and *A Bit of Mother Lode History.* Oakland, 1951.

From MISS ELIZABETH EUBANK, Willows — Her: *Glenn County Directory, a Handbook of Ready Reference, 1947-48.* Willows, c1948.

From MR. GEORGE HARDY, Oakland, in memory of LOWELL J. HARDY — Harte, Francis Bret. *The Luck of Roaring Camp, and Other Sketches.* Boston, 1870. [1st ed.]; Muir, John. *The Mountains of California.* N. Y., 1894; and Squier, E. G., ed. *Frank Leslie's Pictorial History of the American Civil War.* v. 1. N. Y., 1862.

From MRS. C. E. HIGHT, Smith River — Her: *Early Days of Smith River.* [n.p., 1948]

From MRS. HELEN STEADMAN HOGUE, Redding – Her: *Peaceful Now the Trails.* [Redding] c1948.

From THE HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, San Marino – Cleland, Robert Glass. *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills.* San Marino, 1951.

From MR. FRED C. HUTCHINSON, Berkeley – His: *T. B. Hutchinson of Napa.* [Berkeley, 1951. Mimeographed]

From MR. LLOYD L. KARRER, Trinity Center – Several current, printed materials descriptive of Trinity County.

From MRS. WILLIAM KENT, Kentfield – Her: *William Kent, Independent; a Biography.* [San Francisco? 1951]

From MR. EDMUND P. KINYON, San Francisco, in memory of his father EDMUND G. KINYON – MacMullen, Jerry. *Paddle-Wheel Days in California.* Stanford University, c1944; Rourke, Constance. *Troupers of the Gold Coast* . . . N. Y. [c1928]; Hemphill, Vivia. *Down the Mother Lode.* Sacramento, 1922; Glasscock, G. B. *A Golden Highway* . . . Indianapolis [c1934]; DeQuille, Dan. *A History of the Comstock Silver Lode & Mines* . . . Virginia [City] c1889; Dibblee, Harrison. *Calling Quail.* Dallas [c1940]; Hoover, Herbert. *Addresses Upon the American Road.* N. Y., 1938; Marshall, James. *Santa Fe; the Railroad That Built an Empire.* N. Y. [c1945]; Boring, David. *Nobility in the Rough* . . . N. Y. [1938]; Jones, William Carey. *Illustrated History of the University of California.* Berkeley, 1901; Hoy, William. *The Chinese Six Companies* . . . San Francisco [c1942]; Shuck, Oscar T., comp. *The California Scrap-Book* . . . San Francisco, 1869; Bowles, Samuel. *Across the Continent: A Summer's Journey to the Rocky Mountains, the Mormons, and the Pacific States* . . . Springfield, Mass., 1865; Wilson, Nichols Field. *California Business Roll of Honor* . . . [Buena Park, c1943]; California Division of Mines. Bulletin 141. *Geologic Guidebook Along Highway 49 – Sierran Gold Belt; the Mother Lode Country. (Centennial Edition).* San Francisco, 1948; Crofutt, George A. *Crofutt's New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide* . . . Omaha, 1883; Whitsell, Betty L. *From Four Windows.* Dallas [c1941], and *California Nuggets.* Dallas [c1939]; Hart, Jerome A. *In Our Second Century.* San Francisco, 1931; *Memorial Services Held in the House of Representatives of the United States, Together with Remarks Presented in Eulogy of Harry Lane Englebright* . . . Washington, 1945; Conner, Adeline Merriam. *Old Trails and New.* Sacramento [n.d.]; *Sutter's Fort Historical Museum.* Sacramento [1944]; Goethe, C. M. *What's in a Name?* [Sacramento, c1949]; Cole, Cornelius. *Memoirs.* N. Y., 1908; Dana, Julian. *The Sacramento; River of Gold.* N. Y. [c1939]; Harré, T. Everett. *The Heavenly Sinner; the Life and Loves of Lola Montez.* N. Y. [c1935]; Coy, Owen Cochran. *Gold Days.* Los Angeles [c1929]; *California Blue Book or State Roster, 1932.* Sacramento, 1932; [Kirkpatrick Mining and Milling Company] *The Story of "Old Kirk."* [n.p., n.d.]; Schussler, Hermann. *The Locality of the Broderick-Terry Duel.* San Francisco, 1916; Walker, Franklin, ed. *The Washoe Giant in San Francisco; Being Heretofore Uncollected Sketches by Mark Twain* . . . San Francisco, 1938; Granholm, E. R. *Stories, Songs, Poems, Pictures, and Wood Carvings.* Los Angeles [c1947]; Hanna, Phil Townsend. *Libros Californianos.* Los Angeles, 1932; Southern, May Hazel. *Our Stories* [i.e., *Storied*] *Landmarks, Shasta County, California.* [San Francisco, c1942]; Gudde, Erwin G. *1,000 California Place Names* . . . Berkeley, 1947; California State Chamber of Commerce. *Centennial Celebrations, 1946-1950; Suggestions for Community Programs.* [n.p., n.d.]; Anderson, Louise C. Vallet. *A Eulogy to a California Pioneer, John Augustus Sutter.* [North Sacramento, c1938]; Wells, Harry L. *California Names.* Los Angeles, c1934; [Bank of America National Trust and Savings Association] *Cornerstones of California.* [n.p., 1941?]; Schad, Robert O. *Henry Edwards Huntington; the Founder and the Library.* San Marino, 1936; and 96 additional books and pamphlets.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D., San Francisco — *Joseph M. Wood, plaintiff, vs. The City and County of San Francisco* . . . San Francisco, 1877; and Cameron, Jenks. *The National Park Service.* N. Y., 1922.

From MISS IVY M. LOEBER, St. Helena — Beard, James E. *The Story of the Electric.* St. Helena [n.d.]; and biographical information on J. H. Steves, St. Helena.

From MRS. DUNCAN McDUFFIE, Berkeley, in memory of DUNCAN McDUFFIE — Farquhar, Francis P. *The Grizzly Bear Hunter in California* . . . San Francisco, 1948; Weston, Charis Wilson, and Edward Weston. *California and the West; a U. S. Camera Book with Ninety-Six Photographs.* N. Y., 1940; and California State Historical Association. *A Partial List of Organizations in California Interested in California History.* Los Angeles, 1934.

From MRS. ROGERS PARRATT, Berkeley — Real Academia Española. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española.* Madrid, 1925.

From MR. LLOYD M. ROBBINS, Suisun — Seventeen legal briefs relating mainly to California income tax cases.

From MR. ANDREW F. ROLLE, U. S. Army — His: *Futile Filibustering in Baja California, 1888-1890.* [Reprint from *Pacific Historical Review,* May, 1951].

From MRS. EDNA D. SAMPSON, Grass Valley — Nevada City Nugget. *One Hundred Years of Nevada County.* [Nevada City] 1951.

From MRS. EARL R. SHIPP, San Francisco — [Giddings, George H.] *The Case of George H. Giddings, Contractor on the Overland Mail Route from San Antonio to San Diego.* Washington, 1860; and [Gordon, George] *The Safety of Steamship Passengers on Ocean Routes* . . . [n.p., 1860]

From MISS EMILY L. TURNER, Berkeley — [English Club, University of California] *California Play and Pageant.* [n.p., c1914]; [Anon.] *California Play and Pageant.* [n.p., 1913?]; and Deutsch, Monroe E., ed. *The Abundant Life; Benjamin Ide Wheeler.* Berkeley, 1926.

From THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, Berkeley — Carosso, Vincent P. *The California Wine Industry, 1830-1895; a Study of the Formative Years.* Berkeley, 1951.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER, San Marino — Bancroft, Hubert Howe: *Vida de Porfirio Díaz.* San Francisco, 1887; *Historia de Méjico.* San Francisco, 1890; *Recursos y Desarrollo de México.* San Francisco, 1893; *Resources and Development of Mexico.* San Francisco, 1893; *A Popular History of the Mexican People.* San Francisco, 1887; and *The Native Races of the Pacific States of North America.* Paris, 1875. 5 v.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS, San Francisco — Ward, James W. *Commencement Address* . . . [Philadelphia, 1933]; Bonner, Geraldine. *The Pioneer* . . . N. Y. [c1905]; California Club, comps. *War Poems, 1898.* San Francisco [c1898]; Coleman, George. *The Heir-at-Law; a Comedy in Five Acts.* San Francisco, 1891; Leib-Keyston & Company. *Pacific Gas and Electric and the Men Who Made It.* [San Francisco, c1926]; and Lyons, Louis S., ed. *Who's Who Among the Women of California.* San Francisco and Los Angeles, c1922.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. JAMES ABAJIAN, San Francisco — Four issues of San Francisco *Truth,* 1882; 4 issues of San Francisco *Revolt,* 1911; and the Stockton *San Joaquin Valley Republican,* July 16, 1872.

From THE ARGONAUT BOOK SHOP, San Francisco — San Francisco *Truth,* Mar. 11 and 18, 1882.

From MR. L. BURR BELDEN, San Bernardino — The San Bernardino County Historical Society *Bulletin,* Spring, 1942, and Winter, 1943.

From THE BENICIA ARSENAL EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION, through MRS. LE NOIR MILLER, Benicia – *The Benicia Arsenal Magazine*, v. 1, no. 1, Jan., 1951, and continuation.

From MRS. EVERETT M. CALDERWOOD, Palo Alto – The San Francisco *Traveller*, May, 1894.

From MISS DOROTHY V. GLOSTER, Alturas – French, R. A., comp. *A Historical, Biographical and Pictorial Magazine Devoted to Modoc County*. Alturas, 1912.

From MR. GEORGE HARDY, Oakland, in memory of LOWELL J. HARDY – San Francisco *Call*, April-June, 1899.

From MRS. HELEN STEADMAN HOGUE, Redding – *The Covered Wagon*, June, 1951 [The Annual of the Shasta County Historical Society]

From MR. EDMUND P. KINYON, San Francisco, in memory of his father, EDMUND G. KINYON – Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. *Annual Report, 1932-1933;* San Francisco *Pacific Service Magazine*, Nov., 1922–Jan., 1923; *Out West*, Apr., 1908; and *California Gold Rush Days*, v. 1, nos. 2 and 3 [Stories from the radio series broadcast by Louise E. Taber]

From MRS. LOUISE M. MURPHEY, Buckeye – San Francisco *Mining and Scientific Press*, Aug. 16, 1873–June 27, 1874, and 6 scattered issues, 1874-1893.

From MR. LLOYD M. ROBBINS, Suisun – Nine issues of the *California Law Review*, 1928-32, and 7 volumes of *Reports of the American Bar Association*, 1922-48.

From THE SAN FRANCISCO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE – Its: *San Francisco Business*, July 2, 1920–Dec. 29, 1926.

From THE SAN FRANCISCO PRESS CLUB – Twenty-two numbers of the Club's annual, *Scoop*, 1896-1949.

From MRS. EARL R. SHIPP, San Francisco – San Francisco daily *National*, July 21, 1859.

From THE SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS, San Francisco – Crocker-Langley's *San Francisco Directory*, 1904, 1911-13, and 1915-16.

From MRS. NANYING STELLA WONG, San Francisco – San Francisco *Number*, Fall, 1950; and 10 issues of a San Francisco Chinese newspaper, 1949.

From MRS. ANITA WHITING YOUNG, Redding – Redding *Independent*, Feb. 6, 1879; Redding *Shasta Courier*, May 23, 1857, and Sept. 8, 1866; Redding *Shasta County Democrat*, July 22, 1897; and San Francisco *Occidental and Vanguard*, Aug. 2, 1867.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MR. CLYDE ARBUCKLE, San Jose – An Abstract of Title to a parcel of land in San Francisco's Mission Block 28, 1850-1903.

From RAOUL H. BLANQUIE, D.D.S., Oakland – Copy of his speech made in honor of the centennial of the French Hospital, San Francisco, 1951.

From THE BRITISH CONSUL GENERAL, MR. J. MITCHESON, San Francisco – Photostatic copies of portions of the official correspondence between his office and the British Foreign Office, describing events of historic consequence in the period of 1849-51; 1855-59; 1872; 1895; and 1906. Also included is the mimeographed summary of the papers prepared by Mr. C. S. Forester.

From MRS. LOGAN CHANDLER, Ojai – Three documents announcing John Franklin Swift's admission to the California Bar, 1858, his appointment as Commissioner to China, 1880, and his passport as Minister to Japan, 1889. Also included is a photograph of Swift.

From MR. RAWLINS COFFMAN, Red Bluff – A certified copy of a portion of the Nov. 5, 1862, *Minutes* of the Tehama County Board of Supervisors relating to a ferry across the Sacramento River.

From MRS. MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD, San Francisco – The manuscript copy of her *Psychologist Unretired; the Life Pattern of Lillien J. Martin.*

From MISS HELEN GIBBS, San Francisco – Copies of two 1852 California letters in the possession of MISS CAROL REMELE, Palo Alto.

From MISS DOROTHY V. GLOSTER, Alturas – Her: *A Brief History of the Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Alturas, Modoc County* [1881-1950]; and *A Brief History of Fort Bidwell*, together with photographs of the dedication of the Modoc War battlefield monument, 1926.

From MRS. LAURA PARKS GUNDELFINGER, Winfield, Kansas – Two sketches of David Parks (1805-) of Parks Bar and of his descendants.

From MR. GEORGE HARDY, Oakland, in memory of LOWELL J. HARDY – Cash book, 1874-1889, of The Territorial Pioneers of California.

From MR. HENRY HILTON, Belvedere – A California poll tax receipt, 1885.

From MRS. HELEN STEADMAN HOGUE, Redding – Biographical sketches of 135 Shasta County pioneers prepared by Mrs. Hogue on forms supplied by the California Historical Society.

From MR. EDMUND P. KINYON, San Francisco, in memory of his father, EDMUND G. KINYON – The personal memoranda book kept by Edmund G. Kinyon, 1904-07, as a record of his articles published in a wide variety of national periodicals.

From the late MISS ANNE H. MARTIN, Carmel – An additional group of letters and photographs of prominent Californians, together with 17 photographs of Death Valley scenes.

From MR. W. C. MILES, Sonora – An 1869 Yuba County mining agreement between his father, William Miles, and Thomas Thomas, Nortonville, and the Welch Bible brought by the father to California in 1868.

From MRS. E. BARNUM POWER, San Francisco, through A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D. – The Constitution and Minutes of the Nevada County Women's Suffrage Association, 1869-1872.

From MRS. E. P. SCHLICHTMANN, San Leandro – Contemporary copy of a notice and map of a mining claim to land "in the Gold Hill Mining District, Storey County, Nevada . . .," filed by Jacob H. Rose in the U. S. Land Office at Carson City, July 19, 1867.

From MR. J. PORTER SHAW, Oakland – The manuscript copy of Lavinia Honeyman Porter's *By Ox-Team to California; a Narrative of Crossing the Plains in 1860*, printed in Oakland, 1910; her photograph; and her wicker silver basket carried on this trip.

From W. C. SHIPLEY, M.D., Santa Rosa, dedicated to his wife ANNA G. SHIPLEY, and his son, WILLIAM H. SHIPLEY – Seventy-six local history sketches entitled *Ancient History Tales of Healdsburg, no. 1.* A second volume containing an additional 121 similar reminiscences and stories is dedicated to Dr. Shipley's parents, JOHN C. and JOSEPHINE SHIPLEY.

From MRS. EARL R. SHIPP, San Francisco – Approximately 200 pieces of correspondence, 1857-62, received by California Governor and U. S. Senator Milton S. Latham. This important collection bears mainly upon the California U. S. Senatorial controversy of 1857; state and local Democratic politics, 1857-62; and Civil War problems dealing with the defense of the West and overland mail routes. Representative of Latham's correspondents are such noteworthy names as William C. Ralston, Eugene Casserly, Solomon Heydenfeldt, Sr., Charles E. Pickett, Lloyd Tevis, William T. Coleman, and Samuel Ward.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. MARIE-DESIREE CURTIS, San Francisco, through MISS IVY M. LOEBER – The cap worn by the Queen of the 1850 Admission Day Parade in San

Francisco, Mary Eliza Davis (afterwards Mrs. George Bucknall), a granddaughter of George C. Yount.

From MR. AUBREY DRURY, San Francisco – A multi-drawered case for the shelving of maps, prints, or other oversize materials.

From MR. JOHN A. FONTS, Sonora – Two small notebooks containing transfers issued by San Francisco street railway companies in the early 1900's.

From MR. FREDERICK M. GANZ, San Francisco – Invitation and menu of the banquet given President Taft by the directors of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1911; an Apr. 18, 1906, Hayes Street Line transfer; and other Exposition and earthquake items.

From MR. AND MRS. K. L. KWONG, San Francisco – A Chinese woman's embroidered jacket in the style worn a century ago in California.

From MRS. ELSA MELVILLE, San Francisco – Fencing foil used by Miss Emelie Melville, together with a photograph of the actress; and a copy of the eulogy delivered at the funeral of Mr. Uda Waldrop, 1951.

From MR. LLOYD M. ROBBINS, Suisun – Approximately 50 feet of sectional, steel book cases.

From MRS. EDNA D. SAMPSON, Grass Valley – Newspaper clippings, biographical sketches, and a picture, all illustrative of Nevada County history.

Meetings

Date: March 8, 1951
Speaker: DR. CARL P. RUSSELL

Doctor Russell is superintendent of Yosemite National Park. His *One Hundred Years in Yosemite* (Stanford University Press, 1931) might seem to have landed him in the museum division of the National Park Service as one of the museum's chief exhibits, rather than as former chief-of-division. By the practice of their profession, however, historians are fitted to assume contemporaneity with the oldest of objects, human or otherwise. When one of these professional historians makes his listeners share that contemporaneity, so that each of them feels, as happened at the luncheon on March eighth, as if he or she were standing in a Yokut or Miwok Indian's moccasins, or in Joseph R. Walker's, or Zenas Leonard's, or J. D. Savage's shoes, when first the "surpassing beauty" of the Yosemite came into view, then that historian is truly a re-creator.

As source material, Dr. Russell used the accounts of Forty-niners, government documents (such as the reports on military expeditions or on Indian affairs, surveyors' records, etc.), diaries, and the remains of human shelters. L. H. Bunnell (a member of Savage's expedition and author of *The Discovery of the Yosemite* . . . Chicago, 1880), who, it seems, was the first to apply the Indian name to the valley, was very much alone, according to the speaker, in appreciating the beauties of the scene. There was no evidence of loneliness on the part of any of the luncheon audience – all of whom were experienced in scenic appreciation and free of the fear of Indians – as the series of pictures passed before their eyes. Among the slides were reproductions of lithographs of the first organized groups of sight-seers (*see* J. M. Hutchings' *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California*, San Francisco, 1861), showing ladies, for whom, by the way, the trails had been improved, in picture hats, veils and flowing skirts, riding side-saddle, and gentlemen in Prince Alberts climbing sheer walls. There were also pictures of early cabins, viz., Hutchings' (he fathered the first white child born in Yosemite Valley), J. C. Lamon's cabin (Lamon worked as a carpenter for Hutchings and was the Yosemite's first year-round white settler), etc. And to add to the collection of documents, including photostats, about these historic Yosemite events and personages, is one of the purposes of the present centennial.

In closing, Dr. Russell referred to the text of the "Act to accept the grant [approved by the President June 13, 1864] by the United States Government to the State of California of the Yosemite Valley. . . ." It may be found in *Statutes of California*, 16th sess. (1865-66), pp. 710-11. Among the commissioners, mentioned in Section 2 of the statute, were Frederick Law Olmstead (landscape artist, who had come into the Yosemite story in connection with Frémont's Mariposa Estate), J. D. Whitney the state geologist, and Galen W. Clark (the first appointed guardian of the valley).

Date: April 12, 1951
Speaker: PETER T. CONMY

Mr. Conmy is librarian of the Oakland Public Library and executive officer of the city's library department, under whose jurisdiction are the public library, the art gallery, and the museum. His subject was the "Vigilance Committee of 1851." The rise of this committee represented no semi-leisurely "clean-up campaign," in the sense of weeds on city lots or of similar growths in city morals. Behind the committee's activities were (1) the fear of delay, and (2) the question of rights held in common. The first was as fundamental as the second, because, in their minds, time was being telescoped; one minute was sliding within and through the next; and when you are afraid of time it is just as fatal as being afraid of gravitation. As to the second, in settled communities you pasture your cow on a *common*, knowing that its rights and yours will be respected. You come to the frontier, a place of undeveloped resources and of undeveloped respectability. Before you can develop the resources, you have to develop the respectability — a kind of spiritual *common*, where there will be no question of respect toward law. What law? In California in the middle of the nineteenth century, that was the difficulty. Was the law of Spain in force; the law of the imperial congress of Mexico; the acts of its republican congress; the presidential regulations, etc.? To illustrate this clash of ideas as to law, Mr. Conmy cited a book just off the press in 1851: Nathaniel Bennett's *Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of California*, where Bennett (one of the justices) speaks of the political and legal chaos in which the people of California found themselves, and of the amount of labor "imposed on the court of last resort—searching for authorities in an unfamiliar language, and an unfamiliar system of jurisprudence. . . ." Added to this, said Bennett, was the "broad, deep, rushing torrent" of immigration. Two years before the appearance of Bennett's book, there had been issued by Harper & Brothers (New York, 1849) Volume I of Macaulay's *History of England from the Accession of James II.* This large octavo volume, as Hugh Baker shows in his "History of the Book Trade in California" (this QUARTERLY, June 1951, p. 103), was being received on the California placers in 1850, and its readers could have seen on page 34:

> As we can not, without the risk of evils from which the imagination recoils, employ physical force as a check on misgovernment, it is evidently our wisdom to keep all the constitutional checks on misgovernment in the highest state of efficiency, to watch with jealousy the first beginnings of encroachment, and never to suffer irregularities, even when harmless in themselves, to pass unchallenged, lest they acquire the force of precedents.

It was the presentation of this conflict, which was more than local, between revulsion against lawlessness, leading to lawlessness on the part of those bent on inflicting punishment, and the same revulsion held within prescribed legal processes, that gave such timeliness and interest to Mr. Conmy's address. To do this he elaborated on the background of the immigrants, what they found in California, what they needed to improve their lot, or the question of natural law (hence the squatters, with their justification based on necessity), the incompetency of civil servants, the lack of secure prisons and of creditable witnesses, the San Francisco fires and suspicion of incendiaries, etc. With vigor of memory and an abundance of detail, the speaker placed before his audience a thoroughly entertaining picture of this phase of experimental sociology in California history.

Date: May 10, 1951
Speaker: MARSHALL STIMSON

Mr. Stimson is an attorney-at-law in Los Angeles whose understanding of the rules of human conduct as prescribed by usage, by constitutions, statutes, etc., has been sharpened by long experience with the laws of the winds and the waves, and with the shapes and weights of the man-made objects that are subjected to them. If this sounds heavy and portentous, it is exactly the opposite of the speaker, whose knowledge of clipper ships is as live as the elements themselves. In response to our request, Mr. Stimson gave the following brief account of his recent address before the Society:

"My first trip to San Francisco was in 1889. I came with my parents and we took the steamer *Queen of the Pacific* from San Pedro Harbor to San Francisco, returning on the Southern Pacific train to Los Angeles. Later I came to San Francisco many times, in connection with the Lincoln-Roosevelt Republican League for political reform in California. I was also a member of the state commission for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, and from 1912 to 1917 I was frequently in San Francisco on commission business. I have often been asked to state the reason for my interest in the great clipper ships.

"I was born in Boston and my family had a summer home at Nantasket Headland, just outside Boston Harbor. I often saw the square-rigged ships sailing into the bay before the east wind, or checking out for sails, after they had been brought down the harbor by a tug. In 1887 we came to California and had a home at Long Beach. No large vessels could cross the bar in those days, and, as boys, we often rowed out to the square-rigged ships anchored in the roadstead off Point Furman. Sometimes, when crossing over to Catalina Island, we would have the privilege of seeing one of these great ships under sail – a remarkable sight.

"In the course of time I acquired a library on clipper ships. I believed that the era from 1845 to 1875, when these glorious ships sailed the seas, was worthy of preservation also in pictures, so I made a collection of slides showing the ships, the ports of call, the dangers that were encountered and something of the life on board. This era was the ultimate as far as the speed and beauty of wind ships were concerned; it was the ultimate also in the seamanship of the officers and in the hardihood of the sailors who manned the ships.

"Characteristic of the clipper ships were their three masts with square rigs, their sharp bows and their narrow sterns, built for speed rather than for carrying capacity. They came upon the scene exactly at the right time – the opening up of the Orient to trade, the discovery of gold in California and in Australia, the transfer of the woolclip from Australia to England, and the transfer of tea from the Chinese boats to England.

"Manning the clipper ships were a captain and sometimes as many as four mates, the crews varying from thirty to sixty on the longest trips. The officers lived aft in the cabin and the sailors forward in the forecastle. There was a midship house which contained the ship's galley, the sailmakers' and carpenters' lockers, and the quarters for the boatswain. The main meal was prepared in the galley. The officers were served by a steward. For some incomprehensible reason, the cook was known as 'doctor.' The sailmakers were known as 'sails' and the carpenters as 'chips.'

"The speedy voyages of the clippers were made possible by the work of Lieut. Matthew Fontaine Maury of the U. S. navy, who wrote a treatise, *The Physical Geography of the Sea* (London, 1855), and who drew a series of charts showing the most favorable wind currents and ocean currents for the different voyages."

And so we come back to the subject of law, specifically the universe's physical laws and their application to the principle of the clipper ship, which Mr. Stimson explained and illustrated, with generous disregard for his own time.

In Memoriam

George Robert Graham Conway

One of our most distinguished members, George Robert Graham Conway, passed away in Mexico City from a heart attack May 20, 1951. Mr. Conway, whose home was in Cuernavaca, had been in poor health for some time, and only four days before his death he went to Mexico City for a general check-up in the hospital.

Mr. Conway was born in Southampton, England, on April 28, 1873. He was educated as a civil engineer, chiefly at Hartley University in Southampton, and then was engaged in various construction works in England and Scotland. His principal work was at Aberdeen, Scotland.

In 1907 he was appointed chief engineer of the Monterrey (Mexico) Railway, Light and Power Company, and constructed the light and power system, the tramways and water system. In 1910 he went to Vancouver, Canada, where he became chief engineer of the British Columbia Railway Company; he also built a large hydroelectric plant on the Kootenay River, a steam plant, and electric railways.

In 1916 he became managing director of the Mexican Light and Power Company—a Toronto company, operating in Mexico under its Spanish name. The company owned a very large hydroelectric plant not far from Pachuca, which supplied light and power to the surrounding communities, mines, and to the cities of Puebla and Mexico. An allied project was the electric tramway in Mexico City, and in 1927 Conway became president of both companies. Administering the Mexico City tramway-system was difficult. On one occasion he wrote me that he had offered to give it to Mexico City, on condition that the city purchase, from the Mexican Light and Power Company, the power to operate the tramway. The city refused. In 1942 he resigned the presidency of the tramway company, and at the end of 1947 he retired from the same office in the power company but maintained a close connection with the parent concern in Toronto. Thereafter he took up his permanent residence in Cuernavaca. On numerous occasions I gave friends, who were visiting Mexico, letters of introduction to Mr. Conway, and they always found him cordial and helpful.

He was a member of numerous professional societies in England, Canada, and the United States. In December 1929, he was elected a member of the California Historical Society; the following year he became a member of the American Antiquarian Society. He was also a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers and of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

Mr. Conway was less well-known among American scholars as an engineer than as a writer. Besides his numerous contributions on engineering subjects, he became interested in the voyage of Sir John Hawkins and the

Battle of Vera Cruz in 1569, where Hawkins was defeated by the Spanish *flota* which happened to come into the harbor while he was there. Who started the battle between the two fleets has not been definitely ascertained, but the result was the destruction of Hawkins' fleet except two vessels — the flagship of Hawkins himself and a small vessel commanded by Francis Drake. In order to escape, Hawkins put all the gold on the vessel of Drake, which escaped to England. He took on his own vessel the sailors of the ships that had been sunk, and the result was an overcrowding of the vessel. Finally, as Hawkins sailed up the coast, he found he could not carry all the people he had on board, so he put a number of them ashore at Panuco. They were speedily captured by the Spaniards and taken to Mexico City. Here they were farmed out to leading Spaniards, on the condition that they be produced when required. In 1571, agents of the Inquisition arrived in Mexico; shortly afterward they disvovered these Englishmen, several of whom they proceeded to try. Many of the files of the trials remained in the Inquisition archives and some came into the possession of Mr. Conway, who began translating and publishing them.

In 1925, Mr. Conway published the *Voyage of John Hawkins, 1563-1568*, which contains an account of the capture of the Englishmen, and, if I remember correctly, some account of their fate. In 1927 was published his *An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition. The Rare Travels of Job Hortop* appeared in 1928; also *Hernando Alonso, A Jewish Conquistador with Cortés in Mexico. Antonio de Espejo, as a Familiar of the Mexican Inquisition, 1572*, was published by the New Mexico Historical Society in 1931, and he wrote *Friar Francisco Naranjo and the Old University of Mexico* in 1939.

In 1925, Padre Mariano Cuevas, a Jesuit living in Mexico, discovered a copy of Cortés' will in the Archives in Mexico, and Mr. Conway printed it at his request. Considerable controversy arose over this, because of the numerous errors it contained. Padre Cuevas went to Spain at the end of 1926, and in the Archivo de las Indias in Seville he discovered, in January 1927, the original testament in the Archives of the Protocol in that city. This was better than the first, but still unsatisfactory; so, in 1939 and 1940, Mr. Conway printed, on his own account, in English and Spanish, a genuine copy of the will, with numerous notes regarding the family of Cortés. I received a copy of almost everything Mr. Conway wrote, but I do not recall having received anything after 1940. However, when the Cortés Society was formed in 1940, Mr. Conway became a member of the council and agreed to furnish the society with a translation of two hitherto-untranslated accounts of the conquest — those of Andrés de Tapia and Fray Francisco de Aguilar. The Tapia *Relación* had been published in an incomplete form by García Icazbalceta in his *Colección de Documentos*, but the relación of Aguilar had never been even printed. They were to form Volume IV of the Cortés Society series, but, owing to the necessity of copying and recopying the Tapia *Relación*, it was not received at Cortés Society headquarters in its finished form, nor the relación of Aguilar, until the last visit of Mr. Conway to Berkeley some months ago. One reason for the delay was his desire to make use of some documents regarding Tapia which had never been published. Dr. George Hammond, the present director of the society, is now hopeful of printing them as Volume V. It is probable that the delay was caused by Mr. Conway's ill health for some years past.

Mr. Conway is survived by his wife; an unmarried daughter; a married daughter; and a son, all living in England.

Henry R. Wagner

Duncan McDuffie

Duncan McDuffie died in Berkeley on April 21, 1951. At the time of his death he was seventy-three, having been born September 24, 1877, in Jefferson, Iowa. He moved to California in his youth and attended the University of California, graduating in 1899.

Some six years after graduation, he went into the real-estate business with the firm of Mason-McDuffie, whose main offices are in Berkeley. He became its president in October 1907 and continued in that office until his death. It was characteristic of his interest in the development of residential subdivisions, notably Claremont in Berkeley and St. Francis Wood in San Francisco, that the natural beauties of a site be enhanced, not hindered, by the cutting of streets and other provisions for the erection of dwellings.

Not in business, however, did Mr. McDuffie make his main contribution to his adopted state, but in movements in behalf of the general good. He had been president of the Save-the-Redwoods League since 1944. As a director of the league from 1925, he pioneered in the development of the California State Park system, in which the redwood forests, saved through the league, are included. He was chairman of the California State Parks Council, the organization coordinating the efforts of all groups which successfully campaigned for the state park bonds. Earlier in his career (1913-17), he had been chairman of the Civic Arts Commission of Berkeley.

Duncan McDuffie was a leading member of the Sierra Club, and served as its president in 1929-31, and again in 1943-45. He was awarded the Cornelius Amory Pugsley medal by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society for distinguished service in the field of state parks; and he was honorary president of the California Conservation Council.

His Alma Mater was aware of the many contributions one of its graduates was continually making to park conservation and to civic leadership, and in 1950 awarded him the honorary degree of LL.D.

Besides membership in the California Historical Society, the Sierra Club, and the Save-the-Redwoods League, he was a member of the Faculty Club of the University of California, the Sierra Ski Club, and the American Alpine Club.

In 1911 Mr. McDuffie was married to Jean Howard Schoonmaker. Together they maintained a home and a garden in Berkeley, the latter being considered one of the most beautiful in the country, and they were always ready to show it to visitors. Mr. and Mrs. McDuffie had no children.

The death of Duncan McDuffie, leader in anything that had to do with the public good, leaves a place which it will be difficult to fill.

Allen L. Chickering
Aubrey Drury

Book of Remembrance

In the December 1948 Quarterly appeared, for the first time, a list of twelve names, in whose memory gifts had been made to the Library Fund. Since that time the number of names now inscribed in the "Book of Remembrance," which is on view at the Society's headquarters, has increased. The names are arranged below, alphabetically, according to the year of contribution.

1945
William Cavalier
1947
Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver
1948
Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley
1949
Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.
1950
Harvey Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould

Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman
William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
Julia Stamper Berman
Edith Ward Berwyn
Eleanor Smith Boone
Ella M. Brooke
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Herbert F. Suhr

New Members

(June-September 1951)

NAME	*Sustaining* ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Mrs. Marshal H. Fisher	Woodside	Aubrey Drury
	Active	
James N. Algar	North Hollywood	Membership Committee
Walter M. Baird	San Francisco	T. G. Douglas
Edwin Alanson Beilharz	Los Gatos	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Jacob N. Bowman	Berkeley	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Hon. A. F. Bray	Martinez	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
F. M. Breslin	San Francisco	F. Wesley Davies
Frank S. Christy	Sacramento	C. M. Goethe
Richard K. Conlan	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Denver Public Library	Denver, Colo.	Membership Committee
Mrs. Howard Derby	Bakersfield	Anson S. Blake
Don Nelson Driese	San Diego	Membership Committee
Mrs. B. K. Dunshee	Ross	Ralph H. Cross
Thomas Robert Edwards, Jr.	San Francisco	Porter Sesnon
Elinor Louise Falvey	Redwood City	R. H. Cross
William Edward Fitzgerald	Oakland	Honor Award — University of California
Mrs. Grace Slover Hight	Smith River	Mrs. Esther Ruth Smith
Ernest Ingold	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. Arthur Johnson	Eureka	Charles E. Barnum
Putnam Livermore	Ross	Mrs. Norman Livermore
Long Beach State College Library	Long Beach	Membership Committee
Los Angeles State College Library	Los Angeles	Resuming membership
Mrs. John R. Mage	Pasadena	Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Mrs. Inez Malsbary	Oakland	Mrs. B. H. Risdon
Mark Keppel High School	Alhambra	Membership Committee
Kenneth B. O'Brien, Jr.	Mountain View	Honor Award — Stanford University
Harold R. Ohleyer	Orinda	Resuming membership
Robert H. Raphael, Jr.	Los Angeles	Henry R. Wagner
Porter Sesnon, Jr.	Menlo Park	Porter Sesnon
William C. Shipley, M.D.	Santa Rosa	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Roswell S. Smith	Oakland	Membership Committee
Charles A. Storke	Santa Barbara	Warren R. Howell
Mrs. C. Edward Sullivan	Yuba City	Mrs. Albert Knight Andross
Thomas V. Sullivan	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Jeanne Thomas	Oakland	Honor Award — Mills College
P. W. Tompkins	San Anselmo	Robert H. Menzies
J. M. Walker	Berkeley	F. Wesley Davies
Percy J. Walker, Jr.	San Francisco	Warren R. Howell
David L. Walton	Sausalito	Mrs. Isabel Porter Collins
Edgar H. Whiteside	Stockton	Carlos La Moine
James R. Wilson	Sacramento	Norman Livermore
Mrs. Marion G. Zuckerman	Berkeley	Newton B. Drury

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

J. N. Bowman, historian for the central records bureau, office of the secretary of state in Sacramento, has been a contributor to the QUARTERLY for a number of years. (For biog. note, *see* Vol. XXV, Dec. 1946, p. 379.)

A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., has also been a contributor to the QUARTERLY in the past. For a biographical note, see this QUARTERLY, XXVII (Dec. 1948), p. 380.

Ashbrook Lincoln (b. Atlantic City, N. J.; A.B., 1938, Fresno State College; M.A., 1938, and Ph.D., 1946, Univ. Calif.) is assistant professor of history at the University of San Francisco. His M.A. thesis was concerned with American-German relations in Samoa; his Ph.D. thesis, with the history of U. S. naval aviation.

Mrs. Augusta B. Warren, now eighty-nine years of age, lives in Berkeley and is actively engaged in making a series of large scrapbooks, illustrating events in the history of the United States.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Edwin A. Beilharz, a native of Phillipsburg, Kansas, took postgraduate work in California history with Dr. H. E. Bolton at the University of California and, for the scholastic year 1935-36, held the E. S. Heller Memorial Scholarship there in history. For his doctoral dissertation (under the direction of Prof. Lawrence Kinnaird) he chose the life of Felipe de Neve, governor of California, 1774-82. Since 1936, Mr. Beilharz has been teaching history at the University of Santa Clara.

Laurence V. Degnan was born in County Meath, Ireland, the oldest of eight children, most of them born in Yosemite, where his father, John Degnan, had gone to seek employment, in the making of roads and trails, when the depression of the early 1880's hit his personal fortunes. Members of the Degnan family, year-round residents, took an important place also in the commercial life of the valley, as proprietors of a store, bakery and restaurant. Mr. Degnan and his brothers and sisters went to school there. He remembers particularly two of the teachers, Miss Mira Hall and Gertrude ("Cosie") Hutchings, daughter of J. M. Hutchings (*see* report of Dr. Russell's address, under "Meetings," elsewhere in this QUARTERLY). One of the pupils was Jack Leidig; later the children of the artist Chris Jorgensen, Virgil and Aimée, came to the school. In 1898, Mr. Degnan entered Santa Clara College from which he graduated in 1903. He then continued his studies as a postgraduate in engineering at the state university. Among his most pleasant recollections was his association with François E. Matthes in preparing a special topographic map of the Yosemite. In 1907-1908 came work as a draftsman for the Yosemite Valley R.R., followed by engineering assignments with other companies and with the U. S. army during 1917-19. From 1921 until his retirement this year, Mr. Degnan was in the employ of the City of San Francisco as a civil engineer.

Don N. Driese, a member of the San Diego Historical Society, is vice-president of The Tolle Company, an advertising and public relations firm in San Diego. He is directly concerned with the preparation of historical articles for the publications of the Union Title Insurance and Trust Company, one of his firm's clients. These articles have been appearing in *Union Title-Trust Topics,* a file of which he has kindly presented to the Society's library.

Mrs. C. E. (Grace Slover) Hight was born in Nebraska, near the Little Blue River, where for many years were to be seen the wheel marks of prairie schooners. When she was very young, her family came to California and located in Madera. A half century ago, Mrs. Hight went to Del Norte County, taught in a country school, and married the son of one of the county's pioneer families. She has been historian of the Smith River Woman's Club for a number of years.

Mrs. Chelton Hill, descendant of a Mayflower passenger and of Revolutionary War soldiers, was born in West Oakland in 1878: her mother, Nellie Moody Blood (b. San Jose, 1858), just out of her teens; and her father, William Francis Blood (b. Yankee Jims, Placer County), his wife's senior by four years. Mrs. Hill's parents were, in turn, children of '49er cross-country fathers, William Henry Blood (b. Rochester, N. Y., 1824) and V. D. Moody (b. Rodman, N. Y., 1829); and trans-Isthmian mothers, namely, Ethelinda Burgess Blood (b. Illinois, 1826), and Adaline M. Wright Moody (b. Watertown, N. Y., 1826). William Henry Blood settled in Placer County; he mined, ran a general store, and then ran a hotel in Hangtown (now Placerville). Tragedy overtook him in 1866, when he was drowned in the American River while making sluice boxes. His widow came to San Francisco to educate her children: William at MacClure Academy in Oakland, and Elnora at Blake's Seminary, also in Oakland. Subsequently Elnora became the wife of William Freeman King, son of James King of William. Mrs. Hill's maternal grandfather, Volney Delos Moody, was the son of Ransom G. Moody, who, lately made a widower, came to San Jose with his children in the fall of 1849, after a three-month overland (southern) trip. He exchanged the twenty-five horses, that remained after their journey, for land on Santa Clara Street, between Third and Fourth streets in San Jose. Shortly afterwards, two of his sons, Volney D. and Charles, started a sawmill in the Santa Cruz Mountains at a place now known as Moody's Gulch. Volney Moody later sold out his interest to Charles and went to San Antonio, where he operated a mill at an abandoned site in the hills. Lumber from his mill, Mrs. Hill tells us, went into the construction of the first frame house in Brooklyn – the Moses Chase house on East Tenth Street, now Oakland. Another transaction was the trading of a load of lumber for some land heavily wooded with oak, on part of which Chabot Observatory (now removed to Mills College) was originally erected. It was from this piece of oak-studded land (now Lafayette Square), Mrs. Hill says, that Oakland took its name. Volney D. Moody also started a flour business in San Jose. Several trips were made to the east, one trip (1854) being notable in that his bride came to the west coast with him. His flour business in San Jose he sold to the Central Milling Co., which eventually became the Sperry Flour Co. (and later General Mills). Another of Moody's business ventures was the California Cotton Mills. In 1864, he moved his family to San Francisco. A dozen or so years later, they moved to Oakland where Moody became prominent in banking circles, especially in the affairs of the old First National Gold Bank. Here he and his family lived until, upon his second marriage (to Mrs. Mary Robinson), another move was made, this time to Berkeley (1925 LeRoy Ave.), where he died on March 27, 1901, tribute being paid him in the press for his contributions to the growth of the City of Oakland.

Anyone who has read John Steinbeck's "The Leader of his People," in *The Long Valley* (New York, 1938), will probably remember Jody's grandfather and his account of "westering" – of the slow steps, piling up and piling up, until the continent was crossed. Our new member, Mrs. Inez Malsbary, listened, as a child in Selma, to the stories of life in a settlement below modern Laton on King's River, as told to her by a neighbor, Mrs. Mary Neer. These stories lingered so clearly in Mrs. Malsbary's mind that when the time came for her graduation from the Selma High School, she chose "Early California History" as the man-size subject for her "oration." (We are told that her teacher subsequently persuaded her to limit it to "The Mission Fathers.")

In Kenneth B. O'Brien, Jr.'s possession are letters of his great-great uncle, De Witt Clinton Gaskill, written during 1849-56. They contain interesting material on his trip from Boston to San Francisco in 1849, via the Isthmus of Panama, and on his later experiences in the mines, etc. Readers of the QUARTERLY may have the opportunity of reading these letters at some future time.

Robert H. Raphael, Jr.'s, father and uncle were the founders of the Raphael Glass Company, which is said to be the oldest glass-jobbery concern in southern California. Mr. Raphael's maternal grandfather was Louis Morris, who crossed the Isthmus in 1856, and proceeded to Los Angeles by boat. He spent several years in southern California, buying hides and wool, which he traded to the Boston ships for hardware and whisky. He then went to Marysville where he married a local girl. Shortly afterwards, the couple moved to Carson City, Nevada. Here Morris entered the drygoods business, in which he continued many years. Subsequently he returned to the south and settled in San Bernardino. Mr. Raphael tells us that among his grandfather Morris' Spanish acquaintances, whose friendship he valued, was Andrés Pico, younger brother of Pío.

The father of William Chapman Shipley, M.D. (b. Healdsburg, Sonoma County, 1872) arrived in California, via the Isthmus of Panama, with our new member's grandmother, who had been preceded, some three years before, by her husband, coming by Cape Horn. Dr. Shipley has made a study of the history of his birthplace and has published several articles (from his store of family papers) on the subject, in addition to professional papers.

In response to a request for information on his family's connection with California history, Arthur F. Thane (b. Victoria, B. C., 1860) sent us an account of much interest, from which we quote the following:

". . . In the early 80's, when I was with J. W. Grace & Company here, we had a consignment of several new iron ships owned by G. W. Roberts, Liverpool, England. He came out on the arrival of the first one, and in the course of our meeting he told me he had sold my father the lumber which he loaded in St. John, N. B. in 1849 to bring to California. My mother's father also owned his own ship. He brought iron houses made in England, with necessary gadgets to erect them. He also sailed from St. John, N. B., but these houses were shipped from London to St. John, where necessary lumber was added to complete the set-up.

"My parents lived in San Francisco until the Fraser River Gold excitement of 1858 broke out, when my father, a junior partner in a firm here [engaged in general provision business, with connections in Valparaiso] was transferred to Victoria, B. C., to open a branch there. . . . The firm's business prospered until after the Civil War broke out, when it met reverses. . . ."

The Society's new member came to live permanently in San Francisco in 1866. He has traveled a great deal – Chile, Australia, the Far East. The company which still bears his name once maintained offices and had agents in countries throughout the world.

Miss Jeanne Thomas' great grandfather, Charles Lohse, sailed around the Horn in 1849, and, shortly after his arrival in California, settled in Contra Costa County. We hope Miss Thomas will send us, in time, further information on this early resident of Contra Costa County.

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California Soldiers in the Philippines

From the Correspondence of Howard Middleton, 1898-1899

Edited by Harold F. Taggart

Howard Middleton was born in the family home at the corner of Geary and Mason streets, San Francisco, March 1, 1875, the son of John and Ida Parks Middleton. His father was a businessman in San Francisco, interested in real estate and owner of a wood-and-coal yard. His grandfather, also John, came to San Francisco in September 1849, set up a prosperous business as an auctioneer, became a member of the Vigilance Committee of 1851 and an alderman the same year. Howard attended the Pacific Heights Grammar School and graduated from Lowell High School. In the spring of 1898, he enlisted in the Fourteenth Regiment of the regular army and was assigned, together with several young patriots from the bay area, to Company I of that regiment. After training at Camp Merritt, the several companies of the Fourteenth sailed from San Francisco for Manila on July 15, 1898.

Following his return from service in the Philippines, young Middleton attempted several positions over a period of a few years, including a venture for a short time in the stock-brokerage business with his friend, Fred Poett, a nephew of W. D. M. Howard. About 1903 Middleton entered the employ of the Goodyear Rubber Company, a San Francisco concern, then located at Second and Market streets and antedating by many years the now better-known Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. He rose rapidly to become president of the company, and guided its administration until his death on November 17, 1943.

On June 25, 1906, he was married to Mrs. Mary Martin, the mother of a daughter, Camille, who was immediately adopted by her stepfather.

Middleton took very little interest in civic and fraternal affairs, although he was a thirty-second degree Mason, but concentrated his time and attention on his work and on his family. He was especially fond of his grandchildren, children of his adopted daughter, now Mrs. Roswell Cochran of San Mateo, California, who kindly lent the letters to the writer for publication.

In its issue of July 15, 1898, the San Francisco *Chronicle* printed a story on the departure of the troops. At 8:00 A.M. that Friday morning, the two battalions of the Fourteenth Infantry left Camp Merritt at Third Avenue and Fulton Street, marched down Post and then Market Street to the Embarcadero, and boarded the *Puebla* and the *Peru.* The Fourteenth had 300 California volunteers in its ranks. Karl Irving Faust and Peter MacQueen, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, 1899), list the ships in the several expeditions and give the names of the officers and the number of men in each ship. This was the fourth expedition to leave San Francisco. Aboard the *Peru* was Maj. Gen. Elwell S. Otis, who was to relieve Gen. Wesley Merritt. Maj. Charles F. Robe was in command of the Fourteenth Infantry, Maj. S. O. L. Potter of the third battalion, and Lieut. Robert Field commanded Company I.

Howard Middleton wrote his letters without any thought of publication. For this reason it has been deemed advisable to omit names in a few instances because of the rather pointed remarks. In practically every letter the homesick youth pours out his appreciation for packages of food, clothing, books, and other items sent him. Much of this has been omitted as repetitious. Frequently, passages of purely personal interest have been omitted. Most of the letters are addressed to his mother, a few to his father or his sister, Edna; several are without any heading.

All in all, the letters are such as many soldiers have written home, whether it be in 1898, or 1918, or 1943, or 1950. There is the usual "gripe" about the food, the boredom of routine drill and guard duty; he describes the abundant crop of rumors, the clash of personalities in the closeness of everyday living, the nervous tension, and, finally, the emotional confusion arising from the tragedy of battle and the thrill of victory. Those who have worn the uniform of Uncle Sam can read the letters with tolerance and nostalgic understanding.

Aboard City of Puebla

My Dear Mother. 6 [7]-16-98

Our first night is over and such a sick lot of men you never saw. About 50 of the 900 were not sick and I was one of them. Center and myself employ ourselves by walking the deck and smoking before those sick. Fred kept to his bunk and Jennings was out and out sick. The bar was breaking and they started in soon as we passed it.

Our quarters are very comfortable but will be very hot in the Tropics so guess I will sleep on deck. Have eaten every meal so far with relish and have second helpings. Have to stand in line 1½ hrs every morning in order to get there a second time. We only have two meals a day now, one at 8 AM. and other at 4 PM. The officers have three. Have had a petition presented just now for three meals. I declined to sign.

The Peru was not in sight this morning, but about 3 PM we stopped and waited for her and are now in shouting distance.

Later, our first case of measles has broken out but as it is kept away from us, no danger is apprehended.

17 July 1898

Was an guard last night. . . . Am feeling fine. About midnight McIlrath, the fellow who lost $5 for not obeying orders went out of his head with fever.

Howard Avery tried to quiet him but was chased around the ship instead. Peru is about 1½ miles off starboard bow. I never saw such blue water before and so salt why beans and everything else are cooked in it. It is getting very warm and they have just spread the awning.

Had an hours drill this AM. with guns, was very amusing as it was impossible to stand straight. Do not expect to sleep in hold again. This trip will teach several fellows several things. One Corp. Averett the most unpopular man in camp boasted of not being sea sick and at first was not, he found a large piece of meat and showed it to the sick, now for the past 2 days he has hardly been able to move. The meals are getting something awful, today we had 3 meals, as the crowd made a kick, they consisted of poor coffee, 1 piece of boiled bacon and hard tack. if it were not for our box we would be in a poor way. . . .

If this writing is bad and the language is not fine you will have to answer the first on plea of rolling of the ship and the last on the talk going around me at the time.

Of all the things to steer clear of a "troop ship" is the first. We have to stand in line to get anything, even a drink of water or to go below and the men a tougher lot you never saw and you have to be as tough as they are or you will get it in the neck. Why this morning a 6 footer tried to get ahead of me in line and because I told him what I thought of his kind in plain words he threatened to cut my throat. He then went a few places further back and tried the same dodge and got a most beautiful punch in the jaw. After which he went to the foot of the line. And there are lots just like him but our crowd about 15 of us (in the picture) stick together and they know it.[1]

Fred Poett lost his purse with $28 in it today. Every man is to be searched at Honolulu as there has been lots of stealing. Slept on deck last night and as usual it rained so they say, but as I was asleep I did not know it. I took a cold salt water shower this morning at 6 AM and will take one very morning after this. Miles Baird has just reported having $70 stolen.

July 17/98: Cont.:

Slept on deck until awakened by rain and found top blanket drenched about 2 AM. Went below. Peru is to the stern of us and is very slow as we have to slacken up and wait every 2 or 3 hours. Has been overcast up to the present time but sure is shining brightly now and is very warm. Water is very smooth and there is scarcely a breeze. Have had fresh meat every meal so far, but guess it will soon give out. Am going to try the deck again tonight. They are having services forward to which I will hurry *int.*

Later. I just missed the services, am very sorry as they have an organ. I volunteered for guard tonight and tomorrow so as not to have it in the hot weather. My principal duty is to keep men from being sick where they should not. A small pie can be bought for 30c. I have not bought many.

Meals are getting poorer, no more fresh meat — had beans tonight. Am now going on guard.

July 20

At 2 AM last night we (on the hurricane deck) were awakened and told to go below as they feared a storm and intended to take in the awning, but the storm has not reached us although the swells are larger and she rolls considerably. We had fire drill today and the boats were partly lowered. The Peru is nearly out of sight on our starboard side. Passed the Mariposa early this AM, expected to mail this on her but they were too far away to speak. Will probably be in Honolulu Friday noon as we were over 1400 miles out this AM. . . . Captain Goodall, the Captain of the ship, has made himself very much disliked by all the men, he seems to be happy only when making trouble for us. The tailor of G Co. was sick on deck and the Captain grabbed him by the neck and kicked him. If he ever tried that on me I will lamn him with the first belayin pin handy as he has no authority over us. He made the remark to Allman and myself that we (the soldiers) were a "filthy lot," we both said, "thank you, same to you." and left him open mouthed.

If we cared to sleep in the Hold we would be very comfortable except for air. Our bunks are three high and in the middle of the ship two wide with an opening on either side for exit and entrance while those on the side of the ship are single with a port hole for every tier. All are made of iron with wire mattresses and straw mattresses and pillows. Everything has to be aired every morning. Fred and several others put in 50c a day and get two pans of food, but I intend to stay with the ship's food.

The Commissary opened today, there you can buy tobacco, canned fruit, soap and so forth at very much cheaper rate than in the city. Canned fruit is only sold on order of the Doctor. Much to my surprise I found we had a Dentist aboard.

21 July-98

They (the sailors) made us get up at 4:30 AM so they could wash down the deck, I think they only do this to be disagreeable as one or two of them received a good beating from the soldiers. Signal Corps report 40 cases of measles on Peru, we have only 3. Am feeling fine, big appetite and lots of sleep. . . .

My Dear Mother. 6/21/98 [July]

Have just been sent for by 1st Segt. Did not know what was going to happen but went. He informed me that Jennings and myself had been made Corporal. I was very much frightened. One step nearer. Yours in haste.

YMCA, Honolulu,

My Dear Mother Aug. 3, 1898

. . . The Pennsyl. and the Rio de J. sailed today and we expected to leave tomorrow, but the Philadelphia has just arrived so we may stay for the Flag raising. See by the papers of the 27th that Spain wants peace and Manila has surrendered. Am going to dine at Col. J. H. Fischer's again tonight, they have been awfully kind and have sent quite a box of things aboard.

My Dear Mother. Mid Ocean, SS City Puebla, 8/8/98

We are again on the Ocean after a 10 day stay in Honolulu and am rather glad, for the trip to come will be a dandy. There is not an old soldier aboard who would not take his discharge right here.

The people of Honolulu were very kind to the boys and the papers came out with articles praising the Regulars and "especially the 14th" for their behavoir. Mrs. Fischer could not have been kinder to her own than she was to me, as the house was open at all times and I dined there 4 or 5 evenings. She also put up an immense basket of jellies, milk, and crackers to take with us. I told her you would appreciate her kindness as much as I did.

Walter Turnbull has made friends with one of the crew, deck hand, and he gives us our meals from their mess, so we are doing very well, as they live high in comparison with us. There is a great deal of crooked business going on in the Commissary dept as we do not get nearly the amount allowed us by the Govt. The food we do get is very bad, the meat if not absolutely bad is so tender as to be suspicious, while the beans are sprouted, the potatoes growing and when the cabbage has become too bad for the officers mess we get it.

They even keep a guard over the water and you are not allowed to carry any away but drink it right there. It is necessary to wait your turn in line (probably half an hour before you get it and then it is almost too hot to drink and very slimy). On a ship like this when they can distil so much it is a shame that this should be. Alice Rix came aboard just before we left to write up the ship and I can tell you we gave her some good stories. She promised to roast the Captain.

Several of the fellows are quite sick. V. Du Bois has a very bad case of measles and Jennings is anything but well, with his stomach. I think he will have trouble. As for myself I have not been sick a moment so far and this is our 5th day out. . . .

It is so hot that the perspiration runs down our faces while we sleep and as we are going with the wind it is much worse than otherwise. They are keeping the ship exceedingly clean now as it got a good roasting from the chief inspector in Honolulu. We caught the other ships after giving them 30 hours start in a little less than 5 days. We passed so close to them that you could distinguish faces and exchange joshes. I tell you they were pretty sick when we pulled ahead of them and soon had them out of sight behind us as it means so many more days on water for them and this trip is no joke. . . .

The 1st Segt is holding a Non-Com school for our Co. every day now and it is a great help to us. It is much cooler as the wind is blowing across our bows. The nights are something beautiful as the moon is still up and the myriads of stars make it almost day....

I doubt whether any of our friends would know us now as the whole Company (nearly) has had their heads shaved, and a harder looking set I never saw and every man with dirty face and hands. We have on board 2 or 3 fellows, who I think, will never see their friends again. One begged to be discharged in H. as he has slow consumption and the Dr. told him he would not live 2 months in Manila. We gained a day today and instead of being Thursday it is now Wednesday. At the rate we are going we will make the quickest trip yet, to Manila. We expect to stop at Ladrone Islands but may not. Our drinking water has been as hot as coffee and almost makes one sick to take it. The Major was asked to taste it, which he did and he said it was enough to poison us.

Tell Miss Greene that I think her chocolates kept me from being sea sick, but that her roses made me homesick. Wish you would tell everybody to write to me, as one cannot appreciate how monotonous this is and now that there is not much hope of a scrap left, all we can do is to wait for news from those at home. I hope that Kimona will arrive and will fit Edna. It is not much but just something from Hon. in rememb. of my trip.

Tuesday Aug 14

It is our 10th day out from Hono. and the weather is still beautiful. A ferry boat could have made the whole trip with the exception of the bar in perfect safety. We will not stop at Ladrone Islands but will go right on to Manila, and expect to be there Sunday next as we average nearly 14 knots an hour. The meat is absolutely green and the bread musty. The weather is very hot and we are in one continual state of perspiration.

We had inspection of bodies yesterday. We rolled up our pants to our knees without shoes and stockings which we carried in our hands and undershirt open in front and no hat. We also carried all our underwear on deck for inspection. Two doctors, two Majors and Lieut. Field did the honors. Several men are to be fumigated....

After holding our quarters on Hurricane deck since leaving S. F. had to give them up to G Co. last night and we now have to sleep in the hold. A good many soldiers have volunteered to shovel coal so as to get a good meal with the firemen. It has gotten down to the point where food is the only thing thought of.

It is a funny sight to see us bending over wash tubs washing our clothes and very funny to hear remarks made about the army, as we have to wash in salt water and dirt does not come out very well, but we have struck a better way, i.e. to tie a rope to our clothes and let them drag behind. The first man had a portion of a leg of his underclothes left after they had dragged 2 hrs.

This is certainly a lovely trip for the officers and they are enjoying it very much. They have fresh water to *burn* while we have not enough to drink and when we do get it, it is positively hot, but we cannot carry it away to cool, but must drink it there. What with the water and the meat it is wonder we are not all sick. . . . Was on guard yesterday and the night before so I have old guard fatigue today, i. e., clean the main deck. As Corporal I have 11 men to do the work while I boss them and make myself generally disliked—which seems to be part of Non Coms duty. A lot of *Pure Apples* and *Bananas* and Frozen *Turkeys* just went by for the Officers mess.

Aug. 18-98

It is very interesting to see the titles of books being read by different fellows. Jim Walsh is in a great state of excitement over the "Frozen Pirate" while Walter Turnbull thinks there is no finer piece of literature than "The Banditti of the Prairies," still another reads "The Mountain Mystery." The 2nd day out from S. F. an English fellow, Clayton by name, sort of drifted into our set and as he had appearance and education in his favor he soon became recognized as one of us. The story he gave was that he had enlisted the day we sailed and therefor had no clothes. It now turns out that he is a stowaway and has been working a very clever scheme. He would never have been found out if it was not for his love of talk, as he told several fellows the truth and some one told the Captain. Mr. Clayton is now shoveling coal in the hold.

We had our identification badges given us today, marked in this manner [diagram, showing name and outfit, similar to later tags]. . . . We are not more than 500 or 600 miles from Manila and expect to meet our convoy anytime now. We are all so weak from lack of exercise and poor food that we could put up only a very poor fight now. I received in a round-about way a compliment from a Sergeant of G Co., an old soldier. He was Sgt. of Guard the same night I was Corp. of the Guard with Jennings. He told a fellow in our Co. when they were discussing different men that I "was a very soldierly young fellow," which is all very nice. I have now gotten into the habit of bossing as Edna calls it and she will have to look out when I return as I am now accustomed to be obeyed or she goes to the Guard House. It is very amusing to see the fellows playing cards for tobacco etc. (which they draw from the Commissary) until all hours of the night. We are now passing the first of the Philippine Islands in the Balintang Channel but have as yet seen no habitation.

Aug. 20-98

The Coast of Luzon now on our port side, distance 2 miles. We are now going due south and expect to make Manila late tonight for which I am very glad. The coast is very low and rolling and being thickly wooded and pure white sand makes it a very beautiful one. We can now see people on the beach watching us.

Aug 21

We are now in Manila Bay and are too excited to even speak rationally. A German cruiser passed us as we came in without a shout or anything and in a very grim manner. We have just been told that Manila has been taken and are all disap. in consequence but we hope we have a chance at insurgents yet. The 14th is on outpost duty so we will see service any how. We expect to go ashore tomorrow. Never saw such rain as we are now having. . . .

My Dear Father 8/24/98

We have at last arrived at Manila and a more filthy place I never saw. Why the streets of the city are used by the Spanish soldiers as Urinals and the stench is something awful. We are very well fixed as far as quarters go as we have garrisons here for 50,000 troops. Those assigned to 14th are comparatively new and well ventilated. They say that even these were in filthy condition when first taken. The Spanish soldiers are everywhere and treat our fellows very well. They are the most indolent men you ever saw and dont seem to feel the shame of being disarmed.

The insurgents have their outposts right near our camp and we go among them unarmed at all times. They are a miserable lot and 10 of them equal 1 American. An armed officer tried to stop one our boys from taking firewood, he stopped long enough to knock his face in and then carried his wood. We will probably disarm them without much trouble. The horses here are about 3 ft high and all draying is done by water-buffalo. We landed yesterday and had almost 2 miles to march; in this climate it is no joke but anything is better than the trip across. We had our extra luggage carried 2 miles by coolies for 10c.

There are some very pretty houses here but all their money seems to have been spent on churches and the like although all are now going to ruin and what was once a beautiful park is now a swamp. The river is a smelly body of water, is full of wrecks from Dewey's fleet. One can now see what a wonderful thing he did in entering the bay under the guns of Cavite where there are some very fine pieces. All other fortifications are of the old style brass cannon and have not been shot for years. Every street is guarded and Gatling guns are trained up the principal ones. The insurgents had cut off the water but it is running again. Fine cigars can be had here ½c to 2½c a piece and cigarettes 1½c for 20.

All the Vol. are crazy to go home and I think they will shortly. We expect our turn at outpost duty will come shortly as Co. D goes tonight. $5 here in our money is worth 11.60 Mex. We have not been paid yet. Have only received one letter from home as yet and that at Hon.

Aug. 25 — 98

Great excitement!! Last evening just after taps 9 PM we were awakened by shots and a call for the guard. 1st Segt came in and told us to dress quickly and take a blanket over our shoulders and stand by ready as there was a fight on and we lay there hugging each other at the prospect, but it turned out to be a drunken brawl.

Some of the men got drunk and charged the insurgents and they thinking the whole U. S. force was coming down on them fired. One 14th man was shot. Center was greatly excited and cocked his gun. One Co. (14) was sent to Cavite. . . . The Spanish soldiers wish to lead the charge against the insurgents as they say they have been treated so well by us and the residents treat the boys very well, give them food and cigars. You should see the number of *Brass* cartridges found here, no wonder our boys die from a scratch. We have a fine place to wash clothes here, a long trough made of cement and the sides sloping granite which is just rough enough and is used instead of a wash board.

Have seen no papers since July 23 — 98 so am rusty. English war vessel sent us some magazines. A rumor here is that Russia and England are at war.

The climate is very hot, a sort of oppressive heat and we are in a continual state of perspiration. The fruits here are not as good as our own and no comparison to Hon. No fear of eating too much as they are not good enough. The cigars and cigarettes are very fine, even children smoke. There is fine surf bathing here and about 7 PM there are hundreds of people in the bay. I never felt better in my life but *this is no White* Man's *country*.

My Dear Mother Manila, Aug 30 — 98

We have been here a week now and have seen the City pretty well as we are free to go and come at all times. Last night our Co. went on patrol duty, i. e. each Corporal is given a squad of 7 men and has to patrol a certain route. Mine was #3 and extended 4 miles into the country and back. This I had to cover twice during the night 11 PM. and 3 AM. The path oftentimes was just wide enough for single file being flanked on either side by heavy underbrush. The insurgents whom we are guarding against have their outposts within our lines and although they pretend to be very friendly would like to stick a knife in any soldier. The trees are covered with fire flies and makes a very pretty sight.

The heat is something awful, it is a different kind and takes all desire for any exercise whatever away from one. We drill nevertheless one hour per day and some have fainted from heat in consequence. The food is not the proper sort for this climate. . . . Am going to see Ashley and Bliven tomorrow about 5 miles away.

My Dear Mother Sept 2-98

. . . If this letter is mussed and soiled you will have to excuse it because as I sit here with only a very fine knitted shirt (of linen) and a pair of pants on the perspiration runs off me like a shower bath . . . to add to discomfort mumps is now an epidemic. Fred Poett's face is like a pear as to size and he suffers a great deal. Like many other things in army the surgeons are a farce and only seem to care to get rid of you as quickly as possible. A pill is all you are able to get and the same pill does for many things. I was one of the first to get mumps but so light that it is not noticeable; although my ear is a little bothersome.

All intoxicating drinks, Beer, Vino, Gin are not sold now here as Gen. Merritt has stopped it and a good thing too for in this climate a drinking man would not last long. If there are repetitions in this letter of statements in former ones the fault lies in the lack of subjects.

The City of Manila is about 3 miles distance and costs 6 centavos or 3 cents in our money to get there as you pay by section, 2c a section. The streets are very narrow and are filled with dis-armed Spanish soldiers and natives. There are many fine stores here especially jewelry and perfumery. All business is stopped during the middle of the day on a/c heat and Spaniards sit around in Cafes sipping Sarsparilla, Lemonade and smoking cigarettes. Among the natives none are too young to smoke and it is an ordinary sight to see a girl of 3-4 smoking....

All they [the natives] seem to do is sit around on the curb stone and peddle poor fruit and Lemonade. Bananas are worth 6c our money a dozen here. The food they give us here ... will surely have to be changed. Coffee 3 times a day, heavy beans, yeast powder biscuits (lead) and fresh water-buffalo and canned salmon is chiefly what we get. Potatoes are worth 7c a lb....

My Dear Edna: Manila, Sept. 5, 1898

Since last letter have been on outpost duty. The whole Co. left barracks Saturday afternoon and took provisions enough to last until Monday night. The entire Co with exception of 1 squad guarded one of the largest tobacco factories in the world. When they are running full force 5,000 people are employed, mostly at $3.00 Mex. (1.50 our money) per week. Emery Smith was Corp of squad which was sent on "cossack duty" for first 24 hrs. at end of which time I relieved him for next 24 hrs. Cossack outpost is a small body of men under a Corporal, sent about 1 mile from last picket of main body, to guard a certain place. The men relieve themselves, i. e. there is only one sentry and he awakens the man who relieves him so the Corporal has a snap. This time it was the house of a Spaniard we were guarding for if there was no guard, all the furniture would be stolen by insurgents who are very ugly because we do not allow them to wreck the deserted houses. All houses outside New Manila are deserted by the Spaniards and have to be guarded by us. In this house we had an iron bed with real springs, which I proceeded to take as my own. The other fellows found two Mahogony beds with cane coverings and had to bunk 2 in a bed. The owner is quite wealthy and a manufacturer of Cigarettes of which there were many thousand packs in house.

All guards (and every entrance and exit to city is guarded) have orders to take all wine found on natives away and turn over to serg. of guard. There is a great quantity of a drink called "Vino" taken away from natives and not all is turned over either, as the condition of several of men testified. One fellow took a handsome decanter, filled with Vino, from a native woman but she would not give him the stopper. I thought it was quite shrewd of her.

The men were issued White Cork helmets today and more light underclothes much to disgust of Volunteers, who have as yet nothing. There are some rather ugly stories going the rounds concerning the bravery of Minnesota Boys in the taking of the City.

The Commissary and Medical Dept of the U. S. Army are *rotten* to the core. One is a grand money making scheme in which "Red Cross" donations were sold to the men and the other is either incompetent or does not care or possibly both. There are several Newspaper Corrs. in our Co. and there will be lots of stories. . . .

Came into quarters and found Center and a fellow by name of Nutting scrapping, of course had to separate as a Non Com is held responsible for any breach of peace. They are, however, going to settle it this evening behind an old church (280 yrs old) so will report the fight by rounds later. It seems that Center bought a pistol from a fellow and as is like him, gave about twice its value. This man Nutting jollied him about it and made Center mad. I think it will do him good, as he has been much disgusted at our not having any fighting yet. The climate is making everyone so disagreeable that it is one continual growl. Privates are not allowed out of Barracks without a Non. Com. so there is not much to do.

Rumor is rife that we are going to be paid tomorrow but as we have heard so much and received nothing that I cannot credit it. Suppose you are glad to start school again as you are *so fond of study*. . . . Barry Baldwin ex U. S. Marshal is here for Macondry and Co. so am going to see him. If he starts a branch house, I will stand a fair chance of getting in as we did business with him in H. T. Allen's office. . . .

My Dear Mother. Sept 21, 1898

Since last letter many things have happened. First of all we were again awakened and told to dress on a/c Insurgents but all that is over now. They were given until 15th to get out of town.[2] On the afternoon of that day our Co. was hurriedly called out and we surely expected a fight. Everybody shouted "Give it them fellows" as we went along. We marched down one street and then in the same direction on another. We could see them as they passed the cross streets. We then turned into their streets and followed them to their barracks which we then occupied.

It turned out that the whole crowd, about 2,000 in all, with 2 bands serenaded us, then each Co. in turn shouted "Amigo American," "Amigo Filipino" and three cheers for Americans, but nevertheless we shut the gates of our barracks, just to be cautious with our "*friends*." So all our hopes are gone for, never to return. Their barracks was an exposition building built in 1895 and it was finely fitted up. Every house we have been in shows that the people have left in a hurry, leaving letters and all behind. Next day we came in and were sent out for wood. The natives pointed out a very good looking house to us so we proceeded to wreck it. Other Co's came up and took a hand, at the end of one hour there were two poles left. Next day the owners, Spanish people, who had left when the city was taken came to look at their home as they intended to move in the next day. They have now put in a claim on U. S. for $5,000.

We were paid Saturday and enclose order for $25 in a letter to father. I would have sent more but several subscriptions and one or two debts took a good part. We get paid again in two months and will send you $30 of the $36 that I will get. Five of us, Jennings, Poett, Turnbull, Center and myself had a fine (for this place) dinner in town. Had chicken soup, Roast chicken, claret, pint Champaign, one or two other things and Cognac for all, for which we paid $1.60 Spanish or $.80 American.

Talk of drinking I never saw so much in my life as there is now among the men. You can hardly hear yourself think because of the noise and as I write this about tattoo 8:45 PM. the moans, shouts and songs of drunken fellows right alongside is something to remember. And gambling for three nights it has kept up, just outside of quarters of course, but we can hear the ceaseless jangle of gold and the curses of the losers. Some of the fellows have lost every cent and are now trying to borrow. Fights are of hourly occurrence. There were 42 men locked in guard house last night and the noise was something awful. They had a terrible fight and drew knives all in the dark. An officer went in and one of them cursed him, the Captain nearly strangled his life out so I guess he will be good next time. A transport leaves tomorrow with a lot of sick men, there are 3 from our company. Halstead lives in S. F. Do you remember Vassar at Camp Merritt? He could not pass in 14th so joined the 23rd, he goes also and gets $375 in coin for transportation and free passage on transport.

I saw Ashley and Bliven yesterday. Ashley is looking very well, but is very thin and stoops terribly. Bliven is a wreck, has lost 30# and is very weak, all from Dysentery which they cannot seem to stop here at all. He could probably get his discharge very easily but does not want it. Do not tell his sister this as he does not want her to know. As yet I have not been affected in that way at all but have had cramps twice but Dr. Davis's medicine Chlorodyne works like a charm and I am hanging on to it myself. I asked Dr. Richardson re it and he said it was very fine thing for this climate. We have a canteen open in our barracks now and Saturday, pay day, they sold 1700 bottles of Beer. . . .

My Dear Eminita, Manila, Oct 3/ 98

... My turn came for guard again today and for the first time I have mounted guard when everything was done in strictly proper manner. Being a non. com. the Adjutant does not examine your gun but merely salutes you and passes on. It may not seem much but I have seen the knees of soldiers actually quake when he reprimanded one about his gun, for you are liable to have your "belt pulled off" and thrown in guard house.

During the night on my relief about 2 AM there was a call for Corp. of Guard Post #13. I answered the call and found a man with delirium tremens gone clean frantic and I tell you I had a hard time getting him to the guard house. Being crazy I could not frighten him with gun but twisted his arms behind him and pushed him howling down the street, quickening his step with jabs of my bayonet. I put him in one of the "dark cells" and for an hour his shouts and curses kept the whole garrison awake. Shortly Lieut. Field, who happened to be officer of the day, came in. He sent for an opiate and on our promising him (the crazy man) to take the "monkey out of the clock" he took the draught. It took about 15 minutes to act.

Another man was put in with the same thing, was sent to the hospital but died from the effects; he had lost a brother killed in Cuba and he has been drinking ever since. Miles Baird is sick with dysentery and fever, will try to see him tomorrow.

4 Oct. 1898

We were issued *cots* and *mosquito* bars of which we have been badly in need as all insects are terrible here. It looks most odd at night to stand at one end of barracks after "lights out" and see all those white cubes. The mosquito bars cover our entire cot and are about 5 or 6 ft. high. One can now get a good night's sleep. It is wonderful to see the houses being repaired and finished and the number of Spanish moving back to town.

Oct. 5 1898

... It is now 3 AM of Oct 6 and as I write the native women are passing down the road to market in Manila. They have eggs, oranges, bananas, cigars, etc. all of which they carry in large baskets on their heads. There is no dashing up and down of milk wagons here. There seems to be very little milk here and that is brought around by men on foot. This is no country for meat and I have not seen a butcher shop here.

There are hundreds of things used in every day life that have to be imported such as butter, which is all canned in Australia or Denmark. There are no paper mills, no glass factories and all such common things and this a city of civilized people over 200 hundred years old. Why it is dangerous to go 10 miles into the interior on a/c of *savages* who are still armed with spears. Later. We had dress parade this afternoon in nice *swampy* grounds with a large crowd of Spaniards and natives in attendance. It was very amusing to see them all take off their hats when the band played "Star Spangled Ban." they are learning something every day and will know a lot before we go away.

I note you say you enjoy going to "Guard Mount" but if you had to "stand it" as often as we do you would not think it so fine. You must know that "mounting guard" in San Francisco with a crowd of "young girls" looking on and mounting guard in Manila 7000 miles under a tropical sun is quite different.

. . . Nat Messer, jr. came to see us yesterday, he is looking thin but well. He has only been here 4 days and even then only ashore twice but he says he cannot get out of here quick enough. Calls it a "hell hole" and he lives aboard "Scandia" and feeds like a "white man."

One thing about this country is that no cut seems to heal but festers and becomes a running sore, no matter how small the wound is the greatest care has to be taken of it. An hour or two a day sleep here is almost essential and the Major has advised it. We also have inspection 2 or 3 times a week to see whether or not the bandages are worn. I have worn mine ever since I left and am not inconvenienced at all by it, as the heat is not nearly as hard on me as the majority who break out with prickly heat.

Allen Wright is here but not assigned to Co. yet. He makes a pretty little soldier. I tell you I long for time when I can speak to these Lieut's as an equal. Yesterday I had a squad to take Lieut. Field to do a little moving, of course I had nothing to do but oversee the job. When we had finished he told me to take the men to the canteen and there we found 7 bottles of beer on ice for us. I tell you he is a *fine* man. . . .

Cuartel de Malate, Manila, 10/9/98[3]

I guess your wish that I write more often will be fulfilled for it seems that I write nearly every day for we must have something to do. As I sit here in barracks there are no less than five pretty good sized gambling crowds around in one Co. For the soldier "Craps" and "Chuck a luck" have great attractions and especially soldiering in a country such as this where it is too hot to go out with pleasure, one must have something to do. As for myself I do not care enough for cards and only play small games in our crowd. Howard Avery lost $80 to one man playing 7^2 but was let off on paying $50. Last evening the guard made a raid on a native gambling house, some soldiers tried to escape, a serg. was told to halt, but ran on so the guard shot him in the leg. He will loose his leg if not his life for blood poisoning sets in here on slightest wound. There are at present 40 prisoners in the "gig" and all pretty tough characters, nearly every night 2 or 3 have to be bound and gagged to stop their curses.

Last Sunday we had a base-ball game, the 14th played the Astor Battery and won by the score of 13-3. There was lots of good natured joshing on both sides and the whole thing tended to liven up the men. We played the Utah Battery yesterday but were beaten 6-3, intend to play them again. This is a pretty hot country to play ball in but you can always bet on the game being stopped by the heaviest rain you can imagine. . . .

Last evening we were invited to a native's to dine and a dance afterwards. The father is a Professor in the College here and two of his sons showed us their dresses as "Bach of Arts and Civil Engineer." We had a fine dinner, about 16 at table counting the *ladies* of which there were several, all Filipino Senoritas. We then had several waltzes and quadrille. It was very interesting to listen to conversation between ladies and ourselves. They could speak no English and we very little Spanish, so it was very limited. The party consisted of Fred, myself and two North Dak. Lieuts.

Oct. 12, 1898

Have just returned from the same native's where we had the privilege of bathing. There are no accommodations in our quarters for bathing except a hydrant and it is nothing to see a line of fellows waiting their turn. We bought 2 large stone crocks and fill them with boiled water in morning. We contracted for 65# ice a day so now there is plenty of cold water.

My Dear Cuartel de Malate, 10/16/98

For the last three days one of the hardest rain and wind and thunder storms has been raging, everything is flooded with 2 or 3 inches of water. The rain comes down in perfect sheets and the wind in hurricanes from all directions especially at night. In such weather as this it is very pleasant to do guard duty. Of course it was our luck to strike outpost duty during the thickest of it and when I posted my relief at 3:00 AM I was drenched to the skin and my boots filled with water, however on my return to guard house I slept like a top as we are accustomed to sleeping in all sorts of places and conditions.

We were stationed at a school house opposite the oldest church here. While there an Insurgent soldier was buried. They brought the corpse, carried by two men, wrapped in matting in a sort of long dog house with slats on sides like a coop. He laid in church all night and next morning about 6 AM held services. The mourners arrived in carriages followed by old women on the run, with bundles of candles which on arrival at the church they sold to the mourners. Some of the candles were in shape of Virgin Mary. These were carried by friends on their knees the whole length of the church and then taken by a small boy, lighted and placed on table near body. The women dressed in bright red embroidered satin as if it were a ball.

Miles Baird is very sick and Dr. Johnston said he had an even chance but spoke as if it was very slim. I would not say anything about this where it would reach Mrs. Baird. . . .

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. The group picture was taken at Camp Merritt. Of the men shown, Turnbull, who, according to Middleton, spent some time in the Guard House, returned to San Francisco, to become a successful stock broker. Fred Poett later made his home in Santa Barbara; his uncle W. D. M. Howard's ranch once included the land now occupied by the cities of Burlingame, San Mateo and Hillsborough. Poett and Center are now living in Reno, Nevada.

2. Gen. E. S. Otis had notified Aguinaldo on Sept. 8 that the Insurgents were to withdraw beyond the city limits by Sept. 15. After a show of resistance the Spanish had surrendered the city on Aug. 13 to General Merritt.

3. Cuartel de Malate was a small village about three miles south of Manila alongside the bay. Maj. Gen. T. M. Anderson commanded the 1st Division, in an arc around and south of the Pasig River. Brig. Gen. Samuel Ovenshine commanded the 2nd Brigade, which included the 14th Infantry, on the right of the line. The army had passed through Malate in its attack upon the city, Aug. 10. Faust and MacQueen, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (San Francisco, 1899), p. 127.

The Italian-Swiss in California

By H. F. RAUP

SEVERAL articles appearing in this and other publications in the last decade have indicated an interest in pursuing backward the threads that make up the complex of ideas, customs, arts, etc. — sometimes called "the culture pattern" — in present-day California. Doris Marion Wright's "The Making of Cosmopolitan California — An Analysis of Immigration, 1848-1870,"[1] and Marion Clawson's article on "What It Means to be a Californian"[2] suggest a healthy trend in research along this line, and the writer is convinced that more extensive investigation of the details of the pattern is needed. For example, there seems to be no thorough study of the historical and geographic conditions attendant upon the settlement of the Danish colony at Solvang, nor of the Swedes in the vicinity of Kingsburg, nor of the Armenians in the San Joaquin Valley.

Recently a major contribution to the field of knowledge of California's diverse population was published in Switzerland by Dr. Maurice-Edmond Perret, with the title *Les Colonies Tessinoises en Californie.*[3] Unlike most studies of a similar nature, Perret had access to source materials in the Swiss archives as well as to those in California libraries.[4] But he went further: he conducted his study by means of actual field investigation both in Switzerland and in California, and it is this which gives his work particular interest to historical geographers.

The first part of the book is concerned with the origins of the emigration from the Ticino district to other parts of the world; the second part focuses the attention of the reader upon the Ticino residents in California; while the third deals with the results of the migration both in California and in the homeland. In Appendix A are listed over 1,000 names of Italian-Swiss families living in California, with the canton and community in Switzerland from which they came — material which will obviously be of great assistance to those seeking genealogical information. Appendix B gives the names of some 200 informants who supplied first-hand data in America and also in Switzerland.

The bibliography is extensive. Apparently only two American studies on the Swiss settlements in California had appeared in print previously — "The Italian-Swiss Dairymen of San Luis Obispo County," by H. F. Raup,[5] and a chapter by Clay Pedrazzini, "The Italian Swiss of California";[6] but Perret lists at least thirty non-English references, as well as sources in the archives of Swiss cantons and in the federal office of emigration at Berne.

Perret's work may be difficult to obtain in most California libraries, and for this reason I have undertaken to summarize his principal findings. Unfortunately the reproduction of his maps is so poor that some are illegible even with the aid of a reading-glass. Photographs are used effectively but sparingly to show farmhouse types and other features of the cultural landscapes described in the text.

ORIGINS OF EMIGRATION FROM THE TICINO DISTRICT

Perret surveys the origins of the population movement, finding that its beginnings postdated the discovery of gold at Coloma in 1848, since there is no evidence among Sutter's documents, or in the census reports, that that noted Swiss had employed any of his countrymen on his California estates. There are, however, some accounts of a few migrants who left the Ticino district and settled in parts of South America early in the nineteenth century. In 1825, a resident of Ticino, Pietro Delmonica de Mairengo, founded the famous restaurant concern in New York. In 1834, two young stone masons left the Val Maggia for New York; others followed in subsequent years, but these were scattered cases, and clearly no large-scale mass-migration from Ticino to America had begun before 1848 although some settlements, such as New Bern, Vevay, and others, reflected the influence of Swiss settlers elsewhere in the nation.

The spread of the California gold fever hit rural communities in Switzerland with as much force as in France, Germany, or England, and by 1852, Italian-speaking Swiss in some numbers were leaving their homeland, bound for the American west coast. At first it was only six men from Brontallo and ten from Someo; then three from Cevio, ten from Peccia, and so on. In a short time, Australia's gold mines competed with those of the Mother Lode, and some few migrants to America were no doubt attracted to that newer source of wealth.

THE EMIGRATION FROM 1853 TO 1856

At this time the Swiss emigration was greatly accelerated by political disturbances in Italy and Austria; commercial relations were under some stress, and it became difficult to carry on normal trade because of an Austrian blockade. Residents of Canton Ticino suffered greatly, as it is not richly endowed with natural resources (see note 3 above), and emigration seemed to be the solution for their economic problems. That part of the Ticino known as the Val Maggia and its upper valleys experienced the greatest enthusiasm for migration; the movement was principally temporary and ended with the lifting of the blockade early in 1855.

The character of this early migration tended to set the pattern for larger and later movements. By March of 1856, 948 persons had left the Val Maggia; of these only two were women. Departures were greatest during 1854, and the trades represented included masons, stonecutters, woodcutters, bricklayers, shoemakers, and tailors. Many were farmers. Most of the men went to Australia, but 146 took passage for California. Perret believes that economic rather than geographic conditions in Ticino initiated the migration, and, as word came back concerning the opportunities in new lands, emigration took the form of a local fever.

At first the departure of so many single young men seemed an advantage, but the decline in population shortly affected the Ticino valleys adversely and some government controls were instituted in order to prevent abuses.

THE LATER MIGRATION

Unfortunately for Dr. Perret's study, American immigration statistics failed to distinguish German-, French-, and Italian-speaking Swiss, so it became necessary to use Swiss emigration figures. Although these differ widely in accuracy, data are available by which the Ticino migration can be investigated for the period from 1856 to 1869. The figures show that after the lifting of the blockade, emigration diminished somewhat but did not cease entirely. At this time the men took one of three choices of destination: the farmers generally sailed for California; the artisans went to Argentina, and the miners to Australia. The farmers for the most part had the least desire to return to Switzerland.

By 1861 and 1862, the peak of this migration had passed, but some natural calamities in 1868 brought about a revival of interest in the lands of the New World. A series of autumn floods did great damage within the basin of Lago Maggiore, and many farmers faced ruin because of the loss of crops and cattle; as a consequence the numbers of out-migrants during 1868 surpassed those of all the preceding years. The climax of this movement occurred in 1869, with Canton Ticino experiencing the greatest loss, a total of 1,237 men and 205 women. Of the men, 829 went to South America, and 464 to North America, where they largely became mine laborers in California, turning to farming afterwards and to the manufacture of butter near Petaluma.

The California census of 1870 provides some detail concerning the Swiss settlers. Italian given names were translated to English, and even some surnames underwent radical change. By this time the census lists about 3,000 natives of Switzerland residing in the state, out of a total population of 560,000. Those native to the Canton Ticino were living in the farming sections, while those of French- or German-Swiss extraction were residents of the mining regions or the cities. Most of those from Ticino were dairy workers and farm-dairymen; a few were engaged in restaurants and hotels. They seemed particularly attracted to the dairy industry, however.

For the state as a whole, only 20 per cent of the people were engaged in agriculture in 1870, but 62.8 per cent of the Ticino Swiss were in agricultural occupations. Thirty-four per cent of the Californians were still occupied by mining activities, while only 21.1 per cent of the Swiss were so engaged. The migrants, therefore, failed to conform to the California economic pattern of the time, but followed what seemed to be their own best chances for advancement. Some became wealthy, and certainly most took advantage of the opportunities offered in the new land.

During the climax of the out-movement in 1869, mentioned above, the Lugano district had been the principal theater of emigration from Canton Ticino, with the greater numbers going to South America. Relatively few women participated in the movement, possibly because of the rigors of the voyage, for it was a hard trip even for the men, of whom 12.7 per cent died en route. Once in their new homes, however, they maintained contact with those left behind.

THE EBB OF THE MOVEMENT

After 1874, most of those who left Canton Ticino for America went to California, largely because of the favorable reports sent back by earlier migrants. At this period, conditions in the Ticino district which prompted emigration included a decline in soil productivity, unfavorable industrial conditions, and lack of a place to absorb surplus population. Gradually the geographical and economic conditions became more stable, and emigration was relatively small from 1892 to 1900, partly because of lack of opportunities for newcomers to the United States following the panic of 1893. The year 1901 brought some revival of the movement, and again in 1920 others came to America just before the introduction of restrictions on immigrants.

Among the positive and negative factors bearing upon Swiss migration to this country, Perret lists the effect of completion of the Central Pacific Railroad in 1869, the failure of the Bank of California in 1875, western drought years, the floods in Ticino in 1888 and 1889, the California earthquake of 1906, the panic of 1907, and serious floods during 1924 in the Swiss village of Someo.

Perret's estimate for the total numbers of migrants from Ticino to the United States, from 1850 to 1947, amounts to about 27,000, with about 20,000 in California. He regards the year 1930 as the peak year for the Swiss in California although the maximum may have been reached two or three years earlier. Small colonies of Ticino settlers are also found in New York City; in states bordering on California; in Washington and Montana; and in Chicago, St. Louis, and other eastern and midwestern cities.

THE SWISS IN A NEW ENVIRONMENT

The second part of Perret's volume is given over to a detailed study of the Ticino colonies in California. Much of this work was done in the field from October 1940 to November 1945, while Dr. Perret was resident in the state. For the benefit of the reader who may be unfamiliar with California's geography, he gives a condensed description of the physical setting, in which he then places the total of 854 natives of Canton Ticino, and their American-born descendants, as they are listed in the census report of 1870. At that time, 344 were living in the northern coast counties, 253 in the Sierra Nevada, 120 in San Francisco, and 109 had settled in the Coast Ranges south of San Francisco. For comparison, the 1930 census indicates a total of 19,645, of whom 6,075 were living in the Coast Ranges south of San Francisco; 5,110 in the northern Coast Ranges; 3,570 in the Central Valley, and 2,550 in San Francisco. The implications are plain: early mining activities among the Swiss in California were replaced by an active interest in dairying in the coastal areas. Furthermore, the rural type of life so greatly appreciated by the first migrants has continued to attract their children, for these people have not shifted to urban interests or occupations.

ITALIAN-SWISS IN THE COAST RANGES OF CALIFORNIA

In taking up land in the Coast Ranges, the early Swiss settlers followed closely in the area first occupied by the Spaniards and later by the Mexicans, along the northward-advancing frontier of Spanish occupation. Until 1862 this was chiefly cattle range, producing meat, tallow and hides, but little milk, butter or cheese, as these products were not generally consumed in quantity by the Mexicans. After the influx of American miners following 1849, however, there was an immediate demand for foodstuffs in wide variety; at first these (and wine as well) were imported.

By 1856, a dairy industry was established in Marin County to meet local demand, and the labor force was in part obtained from among the first Swiss immigrants, who came in as hired "milkers." Gradually the Swiss settlers increased in number until many dairies were operated by them, although they were not living in "colonies" but were widely scattered through the rural sections. Most of these milkers had come from Val Maggia; they abandoned their former trade, and many among the first arrivals were able to acquire considerable wealth from their labor and their dairy holdings. These people wished to advance from the status of hired milker to dairy farm owner, and in many cases they were able to accomplish their undertaking.

From the core settlements in Marin County, the Swiss spread southward in the Coast Ranges; one had reached San Luis Obispo County by 1870, and four had gone north to Humboldt County. Swiss settled in some numbers in Chorro and San Luis valleys and the Santa Maria, Los Alamos, and Santa Ynez valleys, as well as along the marine terraces bordering the coast. Along the Eel River near Ferndale, and later along the Salinas, small groups of Italian-Swiss were farming successfully.

Second only to their interest in dairying, the Swiss engaged widely in viticulture, which had been previously introduced into California by Spanish-speaking peoples. Swiss activity in this enterprise centered in Napa Valley, and in this case the Swiss pursued an occupation with which they had been familiar in their home canton. In general, however, leadership in viticulture was in the capable hands of Italians, who were principally responsible for the organization of the so-called Italian-Swiss colony at Asti. Few from Ticino were interested in the project.

In California before 1875-1885, it was difficult to market perishable goods because of lack of rapid transport. The dairymen solved the problem partly by turning surplus dairy products into butter, and later into cheese. Both were in good demand in San Francisco. Peak production of butter was reached in Marin County by 1890, and some shipments were even marketed in the Orient after local demand was satisfied.

By 1900, Marin, Sonoma, San Luis Obispo, and Humboldt counties were leading in milk production; but in the next decade the dairy cows were taken from the pasture and were fed in stalls in order to insure a stable quantity of milk production. Under these feeding conditions, the dispersed dairy farms of the coastal counties were unable to maintain their leadership, and with improvements in highways, artificial refrigeration, and other advantages, the counties of the Central Valley replaced the coast counties as leaders in milk products. The high returns from fresh vegetable production eventually resulted in a change from valley-bottom pastures near the coast, to irrigated gardens, displacing the Swiss dairymen. Dairying declined relatively along the coast except in Sonoma and Humboldt counties. In Santa Maria Valley, income from petroleum holdings enriched many of the Swiss landowners.

SWISS COLONIES IN THE COAST RANGES TODAY

The agricultural evolution of the last half century has left four well-defined Italian-Swiss colonies in the Coast Ranges: viz., (1) in southern Humboldt County; (2) in Marin and Sonoma counties; (3) in the Salinas Valley; and (4) in the neighborhood of San Luis Obispo.

(1) The northernmost group occupies the flood plains of the Eel, the plain near Ferndale, and extensions along the Mad River, where the Swiss are engaged almost exclusively in dairying. They are mixed with people of English, Danish, and Portuguese descent, and their farms are regarded highly in quality and value. They grow vegetables on low ground and rotate forage plants for feeding their dairy cattle. Herds generally are of mixed breeds, and produce milk in quantity. Stall feeding is practiced in winter. Milk is converted into cheese and butter and marketed by cooperative organizations.

(2) About 250 farms are held by Italian-Swiss in Marin and Sonoma counties. In the former, extensive areas are available for pasturage, although small farms prevail near Petaluma. Cows are pastured in the open throughout the year, and fresh milk for the San Francisco market is the most important dairy product. A few Swiss cultivate vineyards near Sonoma and along the Russian River. The Swiss participate actively in local political and economic affairs in this part of the state. Petaluma's interests in poultry production have failed to divert the Swiss from their dairy activities.

(3) Italian-Swiss settlers are prominent in the Salinas Valley where they hold 228 out of 1,891 farms in Monterey County. They were late-comers to this part of California, bringing improved dairy herds and year-round pasturage with some supplemental feeding. Some of the milk produced is sold in San Francisco, and the balance is shipped to milk condenseries. There is but one cheese factory in the valley, at Soledad, and it is operated by a Swiss from Ticino. Here some of the Swiss cultivate vegetable farms, especially lettuce, and in general they have followed the American agricultural pattern, and with it, American manners and customs. Nevertheless, with their Swiss clubs and cooperatives they form a compact Italian-speaking group in the valley.

(4) In San Luis Obispo County, Italian-Swiss settlements are prominent near and in Cayucos and in Santa Maria, and in Santa Barbara County at Lompoc. Here lowland pastures are occupied by Italian-Swiss dairy farms, although, since the cultivation of sugar beets began in 1898, Swiss have been active in this phase of agriculture. Cayucos, where Italian is still spoken on the street, is unlike a Swiss village in any respect, and the surrounding dairy farms do not resemble the farms of the Ticino, although the local cooperative for manufacture of butter is Swiss-operated and Swiss clubs are active in the county. Family reunions and local festivals appeal to the Swiss, and, as in Petaluma, they have their own bank, founded and operated by the Swiss.

Aside from these four centers, Swiss colonies in the Coast Range include those at Point Arena, where the Swiss are devoted to dairying in spite of a local emphasis on sheep raising; and those in Napa and Sonoma, where, among the Swiss, there is a decreasing interest in vineyards.

ITALIAN-SWISS IN SAN FRANCISCO

As we have seen, Swiss immigrants found their greatest economic opportunities in the rural districts of California, and particularly in the dairy industry. Those who settled in the cities, however, found it necessary to conform to the conditions that prevailed in their changed environments. Stonemasons from Ticino found little work in San Francisco, where houses were built chiefly of wood; the skilled laborer then turned to restaurant and hotel work or other urban occupations. For a time a definite Swiss colony was part of the city's cosmopolitan life, but, after the fire of 1906, it declined, as the children born in this country tended to drop the cultural link with the Old World. Nevertheless, the Swiss societies and clubs, corresponding to the German Turnverein, continued their usual activities and served as a unifying force to set the Swiss apart from other non-English groups in the city.

ITALIAN-SWISS IN THE CENTRAL VALLEY

By 1870, fifty-four Swiss had settled in Sacramento, but few were from Canton Ticino; a slightly larger number lived in Stockton. Excellent pasturage for dairy cows in the delta area had attracted a small colony, but it has virtually disappeared. The greatest numbers of Italian-Swiss in the valley proper apparently are in Stanislaus County, where milk production is a most important economic activity. Italian-Swiss dairymen are found near Elk Grove, Galt, Lodi, Manteca, Oakdale, Modesto, and Turlock; on the western side of the valley they are found near Pleasanton, Tracy, Patterson and Los Banos. Some few are also living near Tulare, Hanford, and Lemoore. In spite of the high production of grapes, deciduous fruits and vegetables, these Swiss have been generally faithful to their specialty — dairying.

ITALIAN-SWISS IN THE SIERRA NEVADA AND ELSEWHERE

In spite of early preoccupation with gold mining, the Swiss immigrants who reached this part of the state did not remain there any great length of time. Their descendants are now widely scattered, but occasional Swiss dairy farms may be found in Eldorado County, or in the Sierra Valley of Sierra County, where dairying was initiated by natives of Canton Ticino as early as 1863. Markets were far distant, so here again the surplus milk supply was sold in the form of butter. The remoteness of the settlement, however, has worked against the success of the farm enterprises, and today the importance of these Swiss colonies has declined.

Dr. Perret found some numbers of Ticino Swiss in other parts of California, including Santa Ysabel in San Diego County — a group of immigrants from Val Maggia that had originally settled in Marin County. A few Swiss are in Los Angeles County, and some near Calexico and Westmoreland in Imperial Valley.

THE SWISS ELEMENT IN CALIFORNIA'S CULTURE

Part III of the volume treats of the results of the migration; first, the importance of the Ticino settlements in California; and, secondly, the consequences of the emigration for Canton Ticino. In California, although the migrants formed a very small part of the total immigration to the state, they formed an element of the population that is far from negligible, as is shown by vital statistics on file in Sacramento. Their influence has been greatest in agriculture, for, of a total of 155 Italian-Swiss men who died in California in 1941-1942, 90, or 58.1 per cent, were engaged in that field of endeavor.

Perret is of the opinion that Swiss from the Ticino represent a somewhat distinctive element in California. For one thing, they came in groups and remained in groups. They left the homeland at a relatively youthful age, and most of them had not acquired a trade but had been residents of the rural villages where they had pursued farm work or were occupied in dairying. They reached California with very little cash, since their parents were not sufficiently well-to-do to help them financially. They were unfamiliar with the English language upon arrival, and were forced to undertake manual labor. Their wages in the new home in California were very small (lodging, food, and ten to fifteen dollars per month in 1880), forcing them to live by strict economy. They often married outside their own groups, but they preferred to marry a native of the Ticino district. Many remained unmarried.

Most of the Italian-Swiss families were large. All members of the family participated in the farm work, and usually one or two of the boys remained on the farm to make it their career. In earlier years, those born in Switzerland returned to their native country, sometimes leaving one or two children in California. But many were unable to re-adapt themselves to the conditions they found in Ticino and eventually returned to California to become lifetime residents. After 1900, the numbers returning to Switzerland diminished noticeably; the movement almost ended after 1918. This, however, did not necessarily terminate their interest in their original home.

The Italian-Swiss in California continued to use their native dialect at home, but their children were taught English at school. Since the Swiss had come from different sections, they merged their speech to form a sort of Swiss-Italian-American dialect which varied a little from one colony to another. English words and sayings, in a somewhat Italianate form, were gradually introduced into their idiom. One distinctive trait of the Swiss is their manner of burial, which generally consists of interment near their home, and sometimes in family vaults. Tomb inscriptions are usually written in English, and very rarely is the place of birth indicated, a lapse not altogether pleasing to genealogists. (The writer believes that this omission is not the case in San Luis Obispo County.)

Ticino immigrants had no wish to establish a "Little Switzerland" in California. They maintained good relations with the Americans (who sometimes confused them with Italians), and made no effort to change the established pattern of a California existence. Nor do their names appear often on maps. One notices, too, in lists of their children, the use of given names popular with their American playmates.

The houses of the Swiss immigrants show no resemblance to those of the valleys around Lago Maggiore, but in other ways they clung to familiar things, especially to minestra, polenta, salami, spaghetti, and cheese. A feeling of unity was maintained among the Swiss groups by the activities of their many flourishing clubs and societies.

RESULTS OF THE MIGRATION IN THE TICINO

In Switzerland, the results of emigration were apparent in several ways. In Canton Ticino, vital statistics in the last half of the nineteenth century showed a marked decline in the birth rate, an increase in the numbers of elderly people, and a considerable increase in the number of unmarried women. Populations of numerous villages were declining as recently as the year 1941. Greatest decrease of population was noted in Val Maggia and Val Verzasca, from both of which the emigration to California had been heavy. In the Val Maggia, from a population of 7,400 in 1850, the residents had decreased in number to 4,047 in 1941.

Unfortunate effects of migration were indicated in other ways — a decline in the numbers of cattle, abandonment of many pastures, and unoccupied farmhouses and villages. On the other hand, the migration brought in considerable money from American sources, and this was used partly for the construction of residences of returned migrants, on a scale of luxury far beyond that of the houses built by the natives.

In Perret's closing words, "It is possible to view the Ticino colonies in California as one of the most fortunate of the Swiss colonies abroad, and, though they represent no more than a minor element in America — a stone in the edifice — they are not the least of the foreign colonies that make their contribution to the strength of the United States."

NOTES

1. This QUARTERLY, XIX (Dec. 1940), 323-43; XX (March 1941), 65-79.

2. *Ibid.*, XXIV (June 1945), 139-61.

3. Published, with preface by D'Enrico Celio, under the auspices of the University of Lausanne, 1950, 304 pp. The canton of Ticino is situated almost wholly on the southern slope of the Alps and takes its name from the Ticino River, the entire upper course of which is within the canton. Of its total area of 1080 sq. mi., large portions are occupied by forests, lakes, and glaciers; consequently, the agricultural resources are limited. Vineyards, for instance, account for some 19 sq. mi., as against 13 sq. mi. in glaciers.

4. The articles cited in notes 1 and 2 above, as well as the writer's paper on "The German Colonization of Anaheim, California" (Univ. Calif. *Publs. in Geog.*, No. 6, 1932, pp. 123-46), were based upon domestic sources only.

5. *Yearbook*, Assn. Pacific Coast Geographers, I (1935), 3-8.

6. In *The Swiss in the United States* (Madison, Wis., 1940).

Weights and Measures of Provincial California

By J. N. Bowman

THIS paper deals only with the weights and measures used most frequently in the private land grants and in the mission agricultural statistics of provincial California; these, in fact, include about all the units used in the province. They came from Mexico and Spain, and their history is characteristic of the units of these two countries. In Spain, as in other lands from the ancient days onward, standardization was attempted, but it was based on natural objects or personal traits: carrot seed, barley seed from the middle of the ear, the length of the king's foot, hand, forearm, span, girdle, the spread of his hand and width of his thumb. In the early days the units were local but they spread ultimately to adjacent and even distant lands. The troy weights of the city of Troyes, for example, became quite widespread over Europe and the name continues even to the present; also the vara of Burgos spread over the whole Spanish and Portuguese worlds. The difference between the present-day standards and those of earlier times lies, first, in the greater exactness of the present units of measure; secondly, in the national and international basis of the units; thirdly, in the constant checking of the local units with the standard; and in the fourth place, in the rigid and legal enforcement of the use of the standards.

TABLE

Almud, dry: $\frac{1}{12}$ of a fanega or about 4.275 quarts
Almud, area: about 0.58 of an acre for maize
    about 0.15 of an acre for wheat
Arroba: about 25 pounds
Fanega, dry: about 1.6 bushels
Fanega, area: about 7 acres for maize
    about 1.75 acres for wheat
League: 2.6 miles
League, square: 4,338.19 acres, based on the 32.99206-inch vara of 1837 and 1857
    4,340.28 acres, based on the 33-inch vara
    4,438.68 acres, based on the 33.372-inch vara
Milla: $\frac{1}{3}$ of a league or about 0.87 of a mile
Pulgada: $\frac{1}{36}$ of a vara or about 0.9164 of an inch, based on the 32.99206-inch vara
    0.9166 of an inch, based on the 33-inch vara
    0.927 of an inch, based on the 33.372-inch vara
Sitio: *see* League, square, above
Vara: about 32.99 inches in Alta California
    33 inches during the late 1840's to 1855
    33.372 inches from 1855 to the present

The fluctuations and variations of the California measures are illustrated by the variations and fluctuations of the vara measure in Spain and in the

Spanish world. According to tradition, a vara or yard measure was cut at an unknown date on the outer walls of the cathedral of Burgos and became known as the Vara de Burgos or Vara de Castilla. Its use as a measure spread over the provinces and to the new world but with great variations in length; in fact, by the eighteenth century, the name was about the only thing common to all (*see* below, under "Vara").[1]

STANDARDIZATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Unfortunately, very little is known of the attempts at standardization in provincial California. The first reference to the question occurred in 1775 when Padre Junípero Serra complained of the difference between the San Blas and the Monterey fanega measures: in the former place his goods were measured on the basis of 12 almuds to the fanega, but at Monterey the goods were delivered on the basis of 9½ to 10 almuds for the same measure (*see* below, under "Fanega, Dry measure").[2]

If such standards were made and delivered to the province, they had fallen into disuse by the end of the century. In 1802 the viceroy wrote to the governor that there were no measures for wheat and maize, nor for the vara, in California, and that he had ordered such units to be sent.[3] By mid-1803 the measures had arrived in Monterey, and on June fifteenth Governor Arrillaga wrote to the presidio comandantes that the new measures were to be made for all the presidios, that they were to be kept in the presidios, and were to be used as models and for testing, that all missions and all persons were to use them, that they were to be introduced universally on a given day, that no one was to be permitted to sell goods with unsealed measures, and that different seals were to be used for the measures of wheat and of corn.[4]

During the revolutionary period, the units again showed great variations, especially at some of the missions after the opening of the province to trade in 1822. In 1828 Governor Echeandia wrote to the mission presidente at San Luis Rey that he understood the half-fanega measure sent to the presidente held 7½ almuds instead of six by the mission measures, and he ordered that the one sent by the government was to be used.[5] But things did not improve; in fact the measures showed greater variation than ever, which was increased by the increased trade with foreign shipping during the 1830's. By 1833 the variation of the units reached a point where the Monterey pueblo council stated that there were no legal standards of weights and measures, that merchants adopted such units as circumstances permitted, and that they had petitioned the district assembly to take steps for correction of the situation.[6] Some six months later the assembly urged the governor to send to each pueblo council a standard unit for each weight and measure as soon as they could be made.[7] Evidently things did not improve during the following decade, for in 1844 the Monterey council again acted in voting the appointment of a committee on the revision and regulation of weights and measures.[8]

Within the following two years, steps were again taken to standardize the units and to enforce their use. On June 25, 1844, the Los Angeles pueblo council issued a regulation regarding the half-fanega measure, specifying its inner and outer dimensions and its shape.[9] The descriptions are given in detail under Fanega (dry measure), below. Within three weeks of this order the Los Angeles sub-prefect promulgated the decree of the council that all persons wishing the standard measure must apply at the proper office and must have their measures sealed by the proper authority at a stated fee, that a pueblo council official must re-seal them annually at a stated fee, and that rancheros must comply with this order under a penalty for non-observance.[10] Annual re-sealing of measures is illustrated in Sonora, and no doubt to some extent in provincial California, by the markings on the vara stick mentioned under Vara, below.

Among the Fitch papers[11] is a document headed "Spanish Weights," in which are listed commercial weights, dry measures, long measures, superficial measures, and English measures. It is undated and unsigned, and refers primarily to Spanish measures in terms of Spanish, English, and the metric units. California is not mentioned, and it contains nothing to indicate that it relates to the provinces.

From these facts it is evident that the provincial government was aware of the problem, that attempts were made, especially in the 1830's and 1840's, to introduce and enforce the use of provincial standards, but nothing has been found to indicate that the decrees were enforced. It is rather evident that they were not enforced, for in practice there was a wide discrepancy in the measures in the province as a whole and also locally. The vara, it is surmised, was the most uniform unit in its relation to a standard, because of the measure etched on the staffs of office of the alcaldes; the fanega had the widest variation in its capacity. This variation in practice no doubt explains the differences in the testimony, and in the reports of travelers and explorers, as to the English equivalents of the various units. The employment of the half fanega in everyday use may also have contributed to the confusion through the doubling of the half fanega's capacity, instead of using the awkward-to-handle full-fanega measure.

ALMUD (Dry measure)

The almud was part of the fanega, so its exact capacity varied (a) with the capacity of the fanega, and (b) with the number of almuds per fanega.

The number of almuds per fanega in Mexico at various periods ranged from 12 to 16, but usually it was 12.[12-14] In Spain the same number of almuds was also used for the fanega.[14-15]

For California, Pedro Zapeda gave the number as 11 for wheat.[16] In the missions, however, the number was 12, and this is the number found in the annual reports and in the estados of the missions and of the governor's office, which are now located in the Mission Santa Barbara archives and in a few other places.[17]

For Alta California, the almud can be taken as 1/12 of the fanega, generally, throughout the period. Its capacity, with the fanega at 1.6 bushels, would be 4.275 quarts.

ALMUD (Area)

Occasionally this measure is found in the private land-grant cases and in the mission reports for the area of land sown with an almud of grain — corn or wheat. For practical purposes it would naturally be estimated in terms of the fanega (of 1.6 bushels) with its 12 almuds. This would give the almud an area of about 0.58 acre for maize and 0.15 acre for wheat, or an area of about 150 x 150 feet and 80 x 80 feet respectively. For Mexico, however, the International Congress of Berlin in 1863 gave the area as 50 x 50 varas or 0.434 acre, for an almud of land.[18]

ARROBA

The arroba was a measure expressed in terms of weight.

In Spain and in her colonies it was quite generally accepted as slightly over 25 pounds. In Brazil, however, it was slightly over 32 pounds.

In Mexico there is also a fair uniformity among the investigators, ranging from 25.26 to 25.366 pounds.[13, 19-23]

In California the most general use of the arroba measure was in connection with the trade in tallow from 1822 onwards, but occasionally it was used in other connections. Pedro Zapeda gave 25 pounds as its equivalent, and the *Californian* gave the same figure in 1846.[24-25]

No standard unit of this measure has been found in the province, and, because of the absence of such a standard and because of the statements of Zapeda and of the *Californian*, the arroba of Alta California can be accepted for all practical purposes as the equivalent of about 25 pounds.

FANEGA (Dry measure)

The fanega was a dry measure and also a land measure in Spain, New Spain, Mexico, and Alta California; in California it was used primarily in terms of capacity, but many of the pioneers of the 1840's also used it in terms of weight.

The missions, presidios, and pueblos used the fanega and almud in all their reports to indicate the quantity of grain planted and harvested. In the early decades, from 1769 onward, no doubt the unit of the fanega was that of either Mexico City or of Baja California, whatever that unit happened to be at the time. But a variation began very early in California; even Serra complained, as mentioned before, that his mission supplies were paid for on the basis of the 12-almud fanega in Mexico but that the deliveries were based on the 9½ or 10-almud fanega at Monterey. He urged in 1775 that at San Blas measures be made of the ½ and ¼ fanega and of the ½ and ¼ almud, and that all these standards be sealed by the government as proof of legality. The same year this suggestion was approved by the authorities, but whether they were ever made has not been learned, nor whether, if made, they were taken to Alta California. No reference has been found before 1844 as to the capacity of the provincial fanega beyond the 12 almuds, nor why no full fanega measure was suggested by Serra or ordered by the government.[26]

In provincial California, the governmental activity regarding standards, as considered under Standardization of Weights and Measures above, is found to be centered in the fanega unit. Attempts at standardization and enforcement were recommended or attempted during the first decade of Spain in the province, also at the turn of the century, again in the early 1830's, and yet again in the early 1840's. It is in the last attempt that details of the fanega measure are found in the decree of the Los Angeles pueblo council, on June 25, 1844, in enforcing the standard within its jurisdiction — a standard presumably to be enforced in all pueblos and in all parts of the province. This decree was for the half-fanega measure; it was to have three of its sides at right angles to its bottom and the fourth side to be inclined from the larger top to the shorter bottom as a convenience in filling and emptying. The top was to be 35 x 15 dedos, the bottom 25½ x 15 dedos, and the height 12 dedos, all inside measurements.[27] The dedo was ⅟48 of the vara; using the 32.9682-inch vara, as measured in 1855 by the U.S. superintendent of weights and measures,[28] as the basic length, these dimensions become 24.03 x 10.30 inches, 17.51 x 10.30 inches, and 8.24 inches high. This gives a cubic-inch content of 1763.9676 or 0.8203 bushel for the half fanega or 1.6406 bushels for the full fanega.

This is the only official statement of the capacity of the fanega found in Alta California. In connection with this decree are to be studied the capacities as found in the reports, statements, and investigations for Spain, Mexico, and California. Dictionaries (Spanish and English), encyclopedias, handbooks, and independent investigations, give a variety of units for Spain and the Spanish-American nations with indications that there were also local variations.

For Spain Kennelly gives 55.34 litres, or 1.57 bushels, for the fanega, but with many variations. For the Latin American states, the capacity given by the various writers ranges from 1.5 to 3.89 bushels.[15, 19, 23]

For the Spanish colonies in the new world in 1803-1804, Humboldt gave a range from 1.66 to 2.00 bushels, expressed in terms of the bushel of 30 kilograms. When this bushel is transferred into the present American bushel, this range becomes 1.42 to 1.71 bushels.

For the South American states the International Congress of Berlin in 1863 gave the fanega of corn as 137.2 litres or 3.893 bushels,[29] but in 1891 the

Bureau of American Republics reported it as varying in the various states from 1.574 to 7.776 bushels.[19]

For Mexico, Webster's Dictionary and also Clarke give 1.55 bushels as the equivalent of the fanega.[30] But neither Clarke nor the other investigators indicate the time when this unit was effective; presumably it was at the time when they wrote. Rodríguez gives 2.58 bushels, the Institut International d'Agriculture gives 2.576, and the *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana* gives 2.5777 bushels for the Mexican fanega, but Alexander in 1850 gave the Mexican fanega as 1.60307 bushels. The Law of 1857, establishing the metric system, made the fanega (dry) equivalent to 0.90814851 hectolitre or 2.576 bushels, and the Bureau of American Republics made it equal to 1.557 bushels in 1891.[12, 15, 19, 22, 31-32]

The U.S. army engineers of the Mexican War reported on January 20, 1849, the Mexican "fanega (not quite three bushels)." The engineers, accustomed to careful measurement, imply that the measure, as found, was not very exact nor uniform, and was somewhat larger than that reported in earlier years.[33]

For Baja California, Meigs in his *Mission Frontier* has an appendix of weights and measures based primarily on the *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana*, wherein he gives the fanega as 90.814888 litres or 2.57 bushels. These are figures for Mexico, but there is no consideration of the question whether they were the figures current among the missions in the peninsula, when they were effective, whether there were variations in Mexico and in the provinces, whether they were used by the missions in their reports, or whether they were used in Alta California.[34]

For New Mexico the secretary of the treasury in 1852 reported the half fanega at 2,476.25 cubic inches, or 2.303 bushels for the full fanega.[35]

On turning to provincial California, data are found in books of the travelers and explorers, and in the testimony of the witnesses in the private land-grant cases. The earliest writer giving some data on the fanega was Kotzebue in 1824, who found 3000 fanegas equalling 620 English quarters or 3400 Berlin bushels; this means 1.65 bushels based on the English measure, or 1.702 based on the present American measure. Alexander Forbes wrote his book on California about 1835 in Tepic, but up to that time he had not been in the province, so his figures were those in vogue in Mexico and, locally, in Tepic. In dealing with the California mission products for the English readers, he took "the fanega at 2½ English bushels," and assumed that this should or might be the equivalent in Alta California.[36] Moreover the English bushel of that day was different from the present bushel in this country, so his 2½ would be about 2.57 bushels at present. Forbes' figures cannot be accepted for provincial California, except on the basis of an unconsidered assumption. He has, however, been followed by Soulé in his *Annals of San*

Francisco and by Bancroft in his *California Pastoral;* yet Bancroft in the same book gives the fanega as 1.5 bushels, while Hittell in his *California* makes it "nearly two bushels."[37] Engelhardt, in his various books on the missions, uses 1.66, with variations from 1.5 to 1.9 bushels. Nothing was found, in his literary reliques in the Santa Barbara Mission archives, relative to his arrival at these figures nor the reason for the variation. Alfred Robinson traveled through the province from 1829 to the middle 1830's from San Diego to San Francisco visiting the missions and trading for hides and tallow. As a trader he was in a position to know quite well the units then in use and their equivalents in American measures. He states that 8 fanegas equal 12 bushels, or one fanega equals 1.5 bushels.[38] Bayard Taylor, traveling through rancho Buriburi in 1849, observed that half a fanega equalled "a little more than a bushel," or a fanega equalled more than two bushels.[39] W. R. Garner in his letter from California on November 20, 1846, wrote of the "fanega being nearly 2 bushels"; and on June 1, 1847, a native Californian wrote Thomas O. Larkin that "a fanega (2 bushels) of beans in 1845 would be required to purchase an arroba of sugar (25 pounds)."[40] P. McChristian in 1855 stated that the California fanega equalled "a bushel and half a peck," or 1.125 bushels.[41] Gen. M. G. Vallejo in 1852 testified in the Suisun private land-grant case that Chief Solano in the 1840's raised 4,000 to 5,000 fanegas of vegetables, and that the fanega equalled over 2½ bushels; the following year, however, in another case, Vallejo testified that the fanega was equal to 148 pounds or about 1.9 bushels; and also three years before his death he wrote in a letter that the fanega was "about one and a half bushels."[42]

A few references have been found which give the capacity of the fanega in terms of weight; these figures can be turned into bushels by using the equivalent of the weight of distilled water. Capt. F. W. Beechey in the late 1820's gave the fanega as of "100 pounds weight," or about 1.28 bushels of that day; and Dr. John McLoughlin, writing to Sir George Simpson on March 7, 1841, reported that two bushels of wheat were said to be equal to a fanega; by the contract with the Russians, a fanega was to weigh 126 pounds.[43] In 1860 Pedro Zapeda testified in a private land-grant case that the fanega was 150 pounds; this would be equivalent to about 1.932 bushels.[44] W. H. Davis, the Yerba Buena merchant, gave it as of 133 pounds, or about 1.71 bushels.[45] At Fort Ross the fanega was rated by the Russians as equal to 3 poods and 30 pounds—equal to 155 pounds avoirdupois, or about 1.73 bushels. This, however, was not a fixed measure, as can be seen from the statement of Khlebnikov that about 1817 "the fanega is a measure and contains according to the quality of wheat from 3⅓ to 4 poods in weight. According to Mr. Hagemeister's statement they are generally counted as follows: wheat 3 poods 30 pounds, barley 3 poods, beans and frijoles 4 poods." This is equivalent to from 108 to 144 pounds avoirdupois, or from about 1.38 to 1.84 bushels.[46] General Vallejo's statement of 148 pounds, or about 1.9 bushels, was mentioned above. W. Halley, in 1876, made it 120 pounds or about 1.546 bushels.[47] Victor Castro testified in the San Pablo private land-grant case that the fanega was "more than one hundred pounds," or over 1.28 bushels.[48] In the "Spanish Weights" in the Fitch documents, the Spanish fanega is made equal to 1.599 bushels.[25] Velasquez makes the fanega equal to about 100 pounds.[13]

O. H. O'Neil, the former county surveyor of Santa Barbara County, born and raised in Santa Barbara and a descendant of the Ortega and Hill families, recalls the fanega measure as he saw it in his childhood. As nearly as he can visualize the measure it would contain about 1.5 bushels.

As far as can be learned, only one fanega measure of the provincial days has been found in existence. It was used by Jacob P. Leese in his Sonoma store, which he conducted from 1841 to 1848; on leaving this pueblo for Monterey in 1849 he gave the measure to Lewis Adler, whose late son owned it and placed it in the Sonomo Mission Museum. The inside measurement of the fanega gives an equivalent of 2579.5351 cubic inches, or 1.1995 bushels. As a dry measure it would probably be rounded somewhat; less than one peck added to the struck measure would make it equivalent to about 1.5 bushels. In October 1943, Prof. Frank Adams of the University of California filled the measure with wheat and found that as a struck measure it contained 74.75 pounds or 1.24 bushels, and as a rounded measure it contained 85.5 pounds or about 1.42 bushels. The late owner of the fanega was very definite in his recollection of his father's statement that this was a full-fanega measure and not a half fanega.[49] This Leese measure was made, or at least its use was begun, during the interval of the 1830's and 1840's, when the merchants were thrown upon their own resources in determining the units of measure, due to great fluctuations when no standards were enforced. Compared with the standard of 1844, it is a full-fanega measure but is short 0.4411 cubic inch, or it is 73% of the unit of that year.

By way of summary.—The wide range of the capacities given for the fanega, ranging from 1½ to over 3 bushels, as found among the metrologists, Mexican officials, explorers, travelers and pioneers of the province, shows that the attempts at standardization were ineffective. Whatever approximate standard existed was found among the traders, such as Robinson, who dealt with all parts of the province. It is also evident that the full fanega was too large for convenient usage, and that for everyday purposes it was superseded by the half-fanega measure; but nothing has been found to indicate that this half-fanega measure contained more than its rightful 6 almuds. The wide range of the fanega capacity, as given by these sources, was no doubt due to the wide variations as found in Spain and in the Spanish colonies in the new world, all of which were known to the traders and explorers who touched the California shores; and in the province the variations seem to have been found mostly among the people and least among the missions, presidios, and the traders dealing with these establishments. Under the circumstances the absence of such a variation would be surprising.

Also the wide range of the capacities given by various travelers, explorers and witnesses, from about 1.5 to nearly 3 bushels, was no doubt also due to the general use of the half fanega as a more convenient measure than the larger and more cumbersome full fanega, and consequently popular use of the word fanega for the half measure. This would explain the different capacities given by General Vallejo and others.

The fanega, based on the Los Angeles half-fanega measure of 1844, is very close to that given by Robinson about 1830, and also quite close to that of the Castile and slightly larger than the Leese measure. This capacity, about 1.6 bushels, may be taken as the practical fanega measure, and may be taken also as the measure during the whole provincial period — with the understanding that there were fluctuations at times from this unit.

FANEGA (Area)

The "fanega de sembradura" was the area of land which could be sown with a fanega of grain. The area differed in accordance with the grain sown.

In Spain it was used in connection with wheat, for the reason that maize was not in general use there, and the area is usually given as at or near 1.589 acres.

In Mexico, however, where maize was prevalent, the area differed in accordance with the grain sown, and was usually expressed in terms of maize and occasionally wheat. Rockwell in 1851 gave the area for maize in terms of varas, which equals 12.01 acres.[50] It is very similar to the authorized area of Neve's Pitic Instructions of 1763, based on 400 x 400 varas or 13.88 acres. This area for presidial pueblo lands was theoretically effective for all presidios in Alta California. It was effective so far as the number of leagues for such pueblos of the presidios; in fact, it became general for *all* pueblos unless otherwise specified. But for California, Neve, in 1781, issued instructions for the founding of the pueblo of Los Angeles, which provided for this area based on 200 x 200 varas or 6.94 acres.[51] Before this, however, in 1768, the Instructions of Galvez of that year for Baja California gave the area of a fanega of maize as 200 x 100 varas or about 3.472 acres.[52] For the Mexican area, both Rodríguez and the Institut International d'Agriculture give 9.664 acres for the fanega of maize, but the International Congress of Berlin in 1863 made this unit equivalent to 5.208 acres.[12, 18] Galván, in the 1840's, gave the fanega de sembradura de maiz as 276 x 184 varas or about 8.81 acres, and the fanega de sembradura de trigo (wheat) as 8.832 varas square or about 1.53 acres,[53] while the Law of 1857, establishing the metric system, has this fanega equalling 3.5662759 hectares or about 8.81226 acres.[22]

For California, the Neve area of 1781 has already been noted. In 1841 the General Vallejo inventory of the Fort Ross holdings mentioned that 100 acres were sufficient for 250 fanegas of wheat, which gives one fanega equal to 0.4 acre; and another item mentions 70 acres as sufficient for 175 fanegas of crops, which makes this fanega equal to the same acreage. These figures of the Vallejo inventory, however, are of little value in determining the area of the fanega. The inventory of the Sutter purchase of Fort Ross is almost identical with that of General Vallejo; in one case, 14 brazos in the latter appears as 41 in the former. The Vallejo inventory writes "100 fanegas (acres)" and "70 fanegas (acres)," and in that of Sutter it is written "100 arp." and "20 arpents." In the former the fanega is an acre, while in the latter it is 1.6302, thus making the fanega equivalent to 0.4 acre in the former and 0.65 in the latter.[54] W. C. Jones, who investigated the private land-grant question for the government in 1849, evidently used the Pitic Instructions in giving the fanega of land as 13.88 acres.[55] In the Fitch documents, the "Spanish Weights" has the Spanish fanega (area) for corn as equal to 1.1313 acres—probably a clerical error for 11.313.[25] In 1906 the opinion of the Supreme Court case of Sena *v.* U.S. gave the area of a fanega of corn as 8.82 acres for New Mexico.[56] In 1909 Kerr gave the equivalent as 8.8124 acres.[21]

The area that could be sown with a fanega of wheat or maize would depend on the location, soil, climate, irrigation possibilities, and the practices of the cultivators. The late Prof. W. W. Mackie, of the University of California, gave the following as the general practice in present California: one bushel of wheat sows about one acre, and one bushel of corn sows about five acres. When these figures are transferred into terms of fanegas at 1.6 bushels, the figures read: one fanega of wheat sows about 1.6 acres, and one fanega of maize sows about 8 acres. Allowing for a wide difference in the cultivating practices, the Neve area, 6.94 acres for Los Angeles, seems the most probable acreage for maize. The present practice of sowing one bushel of maize on 5 acres indicates the capacity of the fanega as about 1.6 rather than 2½ bushels.

Because of the great variation of the fanega unit in California, the probable fanega of land for maize can be taken as about 200 x 200 varas or about 6.94 acres, and the area for wheat as 100 x 100 varas or about 1.74 acres, or, in round figures, 7.00 and 1.75 acres respectively.

The fanega as a land area was used quite frequently in the early provincial days. The Pueblo San Jose was founded with a provision that each settler should cultivate a fanega of maize and grain and vegetables. In the mission documents the area is met occasionally, and in the private land-grant cases the witnesses also occasionally give the area of the land cultivated by the grantee, upon taking possession of the grant, in terms of the fanega.

LEAGUE

The juridical league was a measure both of distances and of areas. It was standardized at 5,000 varas, so its length depended on the length of the vara. The Mexican Law of 1857, establishing the metric system, gave the length of the league as 4.19 kilometers or 2.6035 miles.[22] In the *Alta* in October 1857, the length of the league in the province is given as 4,635 yards or 2.633 miles — evidently taken from Lee's *Tables* of 1849; and in 1861 Deputy Surveyor General Healy testified that the Spanish league was "2⅝ miles and a fraction of a chain over," or 2.625 miles.[57] Based on the 33-inch vara, it was 2.604 miles, while, on the 33.372-inch vara, it was 2.633 miles. For practical purposes in Alta California 2.6 miles can be used.

MILLA

The milla or mile was an old Spanish unit of lineal measurement and was somewhat in general use in provincial California. In the plan for colonization by foreigners in Upper and Lower California, as proposed by the California Junta de Fomento, 1825-27, provision is made that there shall be assigned, between the allotments, "lots of a square milla, or of 1666⅔ varas, which is the same thing. . . ." The milla occurs occasionally in Spanish testimony in the private land-grant cases; it was used in a land grant in the lower San Joaquin Valley, and J. J. Vioget used it in making his plat, now lost, and in his testimony regarding his survey of New Helvetia in 1840-1841.[58]

The Mexican milla was one third of a league,[59] and this also was the unit used by Vioget in his plat and in his testimony in the Sutter private land-grant case mentioned above.[60] This makes the milla about 0.87 of a mile.

The "Spanish Weights" in the Fitch documents states that the Spanish league is divided into three miles, but without indicating whether this was for the long or the short league.[25]

PULGADA

The pulgada or inch was the most used subdivision of the vara, which contained 36 pulgadas; the length of the pulgada, therefore, depended upon the length of the vara.

Where the 32.99206-inch vara was in use, the pulgada was 0.9164 of an inch, but the 33-inch vara made it 0.9166, and the 33.372-inch vara made it 0.927, of an inch. In any of these cases, the pulgada was a little less than an American inch.

In California the pulgada was rarely used in mission and governmental records. In one deed, in San Jose, it is found when the dimensions are given of the three rooms purchased by Juana Briones in 1852 from the Peñas in Santa Clara — the rooms adjoining the present Women's Club on the south.[61] These dimensions are given partly in varas, with eighths, sixths, and quarters; and partly in varas and pulgadas.

SITIO

Sitio was quite generally used to designate the square league. *See* "Square League" below.

SQUARE LEAGUE

The league, or square league, or sitio, or sitio de ganado mayor was the unit of the Alta California ranchos, as determined by the Law of 1824 and the Regulations of 1828. This stock rancho unit varies with the length of the vara. With the 33-inch vara it contained 4,340.28 acres, while with the 33.372-inch vara it was 4,438.68 acres, or a difference of 98.40 acres for each league. The former figure is quite close to the league as established by the Mexican Law of 1857 at 1755.61 hectares or 4,388.11 acres.[22] For reasons mentioned below under "Vara," the smaller of these figures can be taken as the one used in Alta California, and the latter figure in patenting land grants confirmed after 1855.

The seeming discrepancy is not as important in practice as it is in mathematics. Even though the standard alcalde varas were used as a basis in land measurement, many factors entered to affect adversely the seeming exactness at this point. The cordel, or what is now called the surveyor's chain, was made of sisal, hemp, hair, or occasionally rawhide. The cordel was to be "well twisted and stretched," but the measuring was done by holding the vara measure and the cordel in the hands; also no allowance was made for the natural shrinking and stretching of the cordel. It was pulled along the ground by cord-bearers, usually on horseback when measuring the land, and on foot when measuring house lots. The marks on the ground, indicating cordel lengths, were made by the men on horseback, who struck the ground with sticks tied to the ends of the cordel. It was pulled in the general direction of a selected landmark but not necessarily in a straight line. Wide streams, swampy places, precipitous areas were not measured at all, but were estimated as being of a certain extent agreed upon by all the parties concerned, the number of leagues measured being expressed in terms of *poco mas ó menos*, a little more or less. With these factors present in rancho measurements, the difference between the two leagues becomes nullified. For the data on the change from the small or short league to the larger or long league, see the consideration of this question under "Vara" below. Not only in rancho but even in house-lot measurements the same discrepancy arose, owing to these factors. When the first 50-vara lot in Yerba Buena was granted to J. J. Vioget, the first modern land surveyor in California, that he might practice his profession there, he found by his measurement that the lot was short 8 varas. In 1847, in making his "swing" of the streets in Yerba Buena, Jasper O'Farrell found the 50-vara lots differed greatly in size.[62]

In dealing with the league of land in Alta California, from the point of view of those days and in relation to the events of those times the smaller area would be proper. When, however, land grants made in those days are viewed from the point of view of the later American surveyors, in making the patent plats for these grants, the larger area must be used.

VARA

The vara was the basic unit of lineal measure in Spain and in the Spanish colonies. On it was based the length of the league and the area of the sitio or square league, and it also determined the length of the milla.

In Alta California it was the most used of all the units, followed closely by the fanega. The vara was used in determining the length of the cordel in land measurement and in measuring the size of churches and buildings.

The original vara, as mentioned earlier, was cut on the outer wall of the cathedral of Burgos at an unknown date, and so became known as the vara de Burgos or vara de Castilla. In 1721 a standard unit of wood was made of the vara de Burgos, and later one was made of metal. A metal unit was also sent to Mexico in the eighteenth century. The length of the vara de Burgos has been placed at 32.90957 or 32.99206 inches. In Spain, however, variations from this standard became quite general locally and among the provinces, not only in Spain but also in the new world. In time its length ran from 31.496 inches in Colombia to 44.092 inches in Argentina; and in Portugal, which also used the vara as a unit, it was 48.28 inches.[12, 22-23, 30, 63]

In Mexico the generally accepted length was quite close to that of Burgos. With one exception which gives the length as 35.74 inches,[63] there is general agreement among metrologists that the length was about 33 inches, but usually a little less. Humboldt in 1803-1804 gave the length as 33.03143 inches in a note, while, in his text, his equivalent of 66 varas (or 171 feet of that day) is 31.09 inches, which the translator corrects from 171 to 180 feet, or 32.727 inches.[64] During the Mexican War, army engineers acquired a provincial vara standard in Mexico and brought it to Washington; it is now in the Bureau of Standards. It is a bar made of a sheet brass, inscribed "Vara Mexicana, Por Orden Suprema, Año de 1846," with an eagle seal. One side of it has marks indicating ⅛, ⅙, ¼ and ½ varas. At one end, one of the $\frac{1}{12}$ varas is subdivided into three parts labeled pulgadas, or inches, and one of these parts in turn is divided into ten parts without indicating the name; at the other end, one of the ⅛ divisions is divided into 6 parts and named dedos, and one of these is further divided into 10 parts. The other side of the standard is divided into 10 parts with the first five marked, 10, 20, 30, 40, and 50; each part is divided into 10 numbered parts, and each of these into 10 parts and labeled centesimos. The length of the vara on one side, measured at 27°, is 837.41 mm or 32.9688 inches; and on the other side, measured at 28°, is 837.52 mm or 32.9731 inches, with a probable error of 0.01 mm.[65] In 1855 this same standard vara was measured by the U.S. superintendent of weights and measures, from various places in the division marks — valleys, inner and outer edges of the valleys – at stated temperatures, with an average reading of 32.9682 inches.[66] J. H. Alexander in 1850 computed the Mexican vara length as 0.92741 yard or 33.3876 inches, and the Burgos or Castilian vara as 0.91319 yard or 32.87484 inches.[67]

On January 20, 1849, a report was written by the engineers who accompanied the U.S. army into Mexico in 1846; it was printed in 1850. In the account of the passage through Texas, a comparison of Mexican and English measures is given with the vara at 33⅓ inches.[68] On November 14, 1851, the new surveyor general for California wrote Washington his suggestion as to the length of the vara, 33 inches, for use in the surveys of the private land grants, and accompanied the letter with a copy of Article 20 of an agreement of the Mexican officials in London, in 1837, as to the ratio between British and Mexican measures: "In compliance of what is ordered by the seventh article of the preceding law, in the preceding agreement in regard to the holders of bonds deferred, it is declared that the act of which mention is made in said agreement answers to 4,840 English yards squared, equivalent to 5,762.403 Mexican varas square; in as much as the sitio de ganado mayor contains 4,338.464 acres, the Mexican vara having been found by exact measure equals to 837 French millimeters, and consequently to $\frac{916.469}{100,000}$ of the English yard. Reducing the ratio of 4,840 square yards and 5,762.403 yards the vara will be 32.99312.

Reducing the 4,338.464 acres 32.99311
Reducing the fraction $\frac{916.469}{100,000}$ 32.99288."

A note to the agreement corrects this fraction to $\frac{915.755}{100,000}$ 32.96718.

All these figures were so close to 33 inches that the surveyor general recommended it for use in the California private land-grant surveys.[69]

On May 15, 1857, Mexico established the metric system, to be effective on January 1, 1861, and the publication of the law contained conversion tables. The vara before 1838 was given as equivalent to 837.31 mm or 32.96489 inches, but in that year it was made equivalent to 838 mm or 32.99206 inches.[22] Hall, in his *Mexican Laws*, gave the vara as equal to 837 mm.[70] The International Congress of Berlin in 1863 gave the length of the Mexican vara as 836.695 mm or 32.9507 inches, the Spanish vara as 835.905 mm or 32.8775 inches, and in the other South American states the vara as somewhat larger.[71] In 1891 the Bureau of American Republics made the vara of the South American states range from 33 inches to 38.874 inches.[20] In 1906, Chief Justice Fuller in his statement of the case of Ainsa *v.* U.S., gave the length of the vara as 32.9927 inches for Arizona.[72]

In California the first official notice of the vara measure is found in 1802 in the viceroy's letter to the California governor, which states that no vara measure existed in the province and that he was ordering one sent; this standard arrived the following year and was put into effect, but nothing is known as to its length.[3] By 1833 and 1834 the lack of uniformity in the units was such that merchants made their own units, and, as mentioned above, this prompted the district assembly to urge the governor to provide and enforce standards.[6-7] A decade later the same condition arose again and prompted the Monterey pueblo council to appoint a committee for revision and regulation of standards. But nowhere in these official activities are any data given as to the length or other details of the vara measure; and it is not known whether the provincial standard, one of which army engineers brought from Mexico in 1846, was sent to California. It probably was sent, but no evidence has been found. Regarding the vara length, data must, then, be found in the reports of explorers, and in the statements of pioneers of those days.

In 1841, Duflot de Mofras gave it as 84 cm., or 32.07 inches.[73] In the Fitch documents, the "Spanish Weights" give the vara used in land measurements as equal to 33.384 inches.[25] Between 1846 and 1851, the length has been found in various writings. The *California Star* in 1847 gave the length as about 33⅓ inches and this figure was also given by Soulé in his *Annals of San Francisco*.[74] In 1847, J. Q. Thornton gave the length as about 33⅓ inches, which is also given later by Hall in his *History of San Jose*.[75] In October 1847, William B. Ide surveyed Hyacinth Farm on the Sacramento River, adjoining the Jimeno rancho on the north; the area given on the plat makes the vara equal to about 33.352 inches.[76] This length of the vara, 33⅓ inches, is also given in a government report.[68] In 1849 the instructions to W. C. Jones, for his special survey of California private land grants, give the area of a league based on the 33-inch vara, and in the same year General Percifer Smith found the "Mexican league is about 2⅝ of our mile," or the vara about 33.264 inches; while Bouchacourt, also in the same year, made ten varas equal to 8 meters and 50 cm. or 33.4645 inches.[77] In 1848, Jasper O'Farrell surveyed General Vallejo's Petaluma rancho; his plat scale indicates that he used the 33-inch vara.[78] In June 1850, William Eddy, the San Francisco surveyor, surveyed the Vallejo-Leese grant of two lots, at the foot of present Broadway, and used the 33-inch vara, as did also the San Jose engineers in local surveys in 1850 and 1851.[79] In January 1851, W. J. Lewis surveyed the Quito rancho in Santa Clara County and used this same length of the vara.[80] In three deeds in San Jose of 1850 and 1852, the dimensions given indicate also this same vara of 33 inches; but in 1847 another deed makes it equal to 33.382 inches.[81] In the Leese *v.* Clark case, George Hyde, former alcalde of San Francisco, testified that the length of the vara in use during the 1840's was 33 inches.[82] In 1868, Thomas Bodley gave the California 25-vara length as equaling 68.09 feet, or one vara as 32.683 inches.[83] In 1852, William B. Ide, mentioned above, testified in the Bosquejo private land-grant case that when he surveyed this rancho on March 4, 1846, he "understood the Spanish vara to be 8% less than the English yard; that 108 varas are equal to 100 English yards; and not having any means of knowing at that time how many varas make a Spanish league I used the same number of varas for a Spanish league as there are yards in the English league, which according to my recollection gave 222 English chains, $\frac{222}{1{,}000}$." In his field notes for this survey he wrote, "The scale used in drawing this within map is 160 chains to the inch and in the survey (222.22 chains) 222 chains and 22 links make a Spanish league."[84] This means that he used the 33.33-inch vara.

There is a tradition in Sonoma that the vara is 2.78 feet in length, based on the surveyed length of the 109-vara lots of the pueblo. Unfortunately this must be questioned, since 109-vara lots were those authorized by the governor in 1835, but General Vallejo, in measuring them, failed in exactness, so that some lots are smaller and some larger than those authorized and the street lines are not in line, as can be seen on the official plat of the city, especially at the northwest corner of the Plaza.

On June 19, 1851, Samuel D. King arrived in San Francisco as the first surveyor general for California. Within a very short time, the question of surveys of the private land grants arose with its problem of the length of the vara. From the data listed above, it is noted that surveyors like Eddy, O'Farrell, and officials like Hyde, understood and used the vara as 33 inches, while travelers and Americans, recently arrived in the province, placed the length between 33 and 33½ inches. On inquiry, presumably among the engineers and officials, King found that the vara was quite generally recognized as equivalent to 33 inches, and this was further substantiated by the London agreement of 1837, a copy of which he sent to Washington with his recommendation of the 33-inch vara. This recommendation was made on November 14, 1851, as mentioned above. On the following February 12, King replied to a question of the state legislature that he could not set the length of the vara until he heard from Washington regarding his recommendation.[85] Washington wrote its reply on March 5, 1852, approving the recommendation of the 33-inch vara, and on December 16, 1852, King informed the Board of Land Commissioners, then about to begin its work of hearing the private land-grant claims, that the league adopted contained 4,340.27 acres — this indicates the 33-inch vara.[86]

This was the official vara length used from 1852 to 1855. Much testimony is found in the private land-grant cases that this was the length used in the rancho surveys of those years.[87] On February 20, 1855, the U.S. land commissioner stated that this was still the official length.[88] The next evidence found in the private land-grant cases as to the official length is the testimony, early in 1858, and the instructions to the deputy surveyor general, dated September 1, 1858, giving the length of the vara as 33.372 inches.[89] On October 12, 1857, the *Alta California* gave the length as 33.372 inches and the league as 4,635 yards. So, between February 20, 1855, and September 1, 1858, or October 12, 1857, if the *Alta California* were correct, a change in the length of the vara had been made.

No direct evidence has been found as to the date of, or the reason for, the change in the vara length between 1855 and 1858; nothing has been discovered in the private land-grant cases themselves; the correspondence and the files of the California surveyor general were burned in the 1906 San Francisco fire, and a search has failed to uncover any documents bearing on the question in the General Land Office in Washington or in its files in the National Archives. Without direct available evidence, reliance must be placed on data from which inferences may be drawn.[90]

Two facts were discovered in the National Archives bearing on the problem. The instructions of John C. Hays, the surveyor general in San Francisco, dated June 11, 1855, for the survey of rancho Suisun, state that "5,000 lineal varas is the judicial league, equal to 4635 English yards, which would make the Spanish vara equal to 33.372 inches." And in the field notes of the survey of rancho Mariposa, approved by Hays on July 31 of the same year, is a note reading: "The calculations for the quantity are made in accordance with the length of the 'vara' as adopted in Lee's Tables, and decisions of the Supreme Court in several cases making the league equal to 4635 English yards."[91] The change, then, had been made on or before June 11, 1855, and had been based on Lee's Tables and in accordance with Supreme Court decisions.

First, as to the court decisions. Up to this date, June 11, 1855, only three decisions had been delivered by the Supreme Court on California private land grants. One, the Cervantes case, related to procedure. The Suisun and Mariposa cases were both decided on March 10, 1855, and only the latter has anything remotely related to the question of the lineal length of the measure: ". . . the survey must now be made under the authority of the United States, and in the form and divisions prescribed by law for surveys in California, embracing the entire grant in one tract."[92] This placed the survey problem in the hands of the administrative division of the government, and nothing has been found in the legislative actions or in judicial decisions up to 1855 bearing on the length of the vara or league.

The opinion and the mandate in the Mariposa case were both filed in the District Court in San Francisco on June 4, 1855. And since this is the only decision found which possibly affects the problem, it, together with the Suisun decision whose mandate alone was filed in the San Francisco District Court on May 2, 1855, must be accepted as the ones referred to by Hays on June 11.[93] On June 15, 1855, Hays issued his general instructions to his deputies, containing, undoubtedly, the new vara length.[94]

As to Lee's Tables, the Library of Congress and the General Land Office know of only one set of Lee's Tables, that of Capt. Thomas Jefferson Lee, issued in 1849, a second edition in 1853 and a third in 1873.[95]

In the three editions the figures change but little: the 1849 edition alone gives the 4635 yards for the league by using only three figures of the decimals of the foot, which is corrected in the 1853 edition to 4637. The 1849-edition figure, 4635 yards, makes the vara 33.372 inches while the correction of the later editions, 4637, gives the length as 33.3852 inches; in a league of land this makes a difference of 3.83 acres.

How Lee arrived at the length of his Castilian units is unknown, and also unknown is why the conversion tables of the Mexican Law of 1857, which established the metric system, were not used in the 1873 edition. Lee also apparently did not use in the 1849 edition the figures of the 1837 Mexican London agreement, nor in the later edition did he use the Bache computation, mentioned above, of the length of the standard vara secured from Mexico by army engineers in 1846. Lee's work sheet, notes and papers are not found in the General Land Office, in the National Archives, or in the Library of Congress.[96]

From these facts the following inferences may be drawn. The change was not made in Washington, where such a change, or at least the approval of a change, would be expected. Lee's second edition had been published two years before 1855; it is not understandable how the General Land Office could use the 1849 edition instead of that of 1853. Also Hays' note to the field notes of the Suisun and Mariposa surveys gives the basis of the measure rather than states that the measure is in accordance with instructions from Washington. The change appears to have been made by Hays between June fourth, the date of the filing of the mandate and the opinion in the San Francisco District Court, and June eleventh, when the instructions for the Suisun survey were written and issued. The opinion threw the details of the measurement upon the surveyor general; action was expected immediately. Hays knew and had used the 33-inch vara in California surveys, and no doubt knew the correspondence of King relative to its adoption. But Hays was from Texas where he had been a surveyor, and he had also done surveying in Mississippi. He knew the Texas vara was generally accepted as about 33⅓ inches, while in California the length was reported to be from 33 to 33½ inches. No doubt King or someone had brought from Washington a copy of the 1849 edition of Lee's Tables, but the 1853 edition was not available; very probably Hays knew the book, and, since its vara length was close to the one he knew in Texas and within the range of the lengths used in California, he selected it as the official length.[97] Time did not permit correspondence with Washington. The opinion and the mandate as read and understood placed the responsibility on the California surveyor general; Hays took the official figures compiled by a government official and published in an official governmental publication, and, in the note to the field notes of the first two patent surveys, gave the basis of the length of the league, thereby informing Washington of the change made. Until such time as documentary evidence may be found bearing on the question, the change of the length of the vara may be placed between June 4 and 11, 1855, probably toward the end of that week, and it may also be assumed that Hays took the length of the league from the 1849 edition of Lee's Tables.

In New Mexico the same difficulty was encountered as to the length of the vara. On August 21, 1854, the California length was adopted.[98] In the opinion of the Supreme Court case of U.S. *v.* Perot, on October 28, 1879, a table of various lengths is given — all under 33 inches — with a statement that the length in Texas was 33⅓ inches, and also quotes a letter from the land commissioner dated February 20, 1855, which gives the California vara as 33 inches. The court in 1879 was unaware that California had changed its length to 33.372 inches in the middle of 1855.

From 1855 to the present, the long vara has been used in California in the surveys of all private land grants confirmed. In the Glendale U.S. public survey office are letters from Washington regarding the survey of Potrero Chico, one of which is dated November 19, 1919, and states that "33.372 inches seems to be the length generally accepted at the present time."

During the provincial days, the alcaldes' staffs of office had etched on them the standard vara length, stamped as such, and regarded as official; it was the standard for each alcalde's jurisdiction. It was used by the alcaldes in measuring the cordel or chain in land measurement. Among the people were vara sticks (yardsticks of the present day), governed in length by the alcalde's staff or Barra del Autoridad or Barra de Justicia, and used for home purposes and perhaps occasionally for measuring the cordel in land measurement. The exact length of the vara as measured from the alcalde's staff would depend upon whether the valley or the edges of the etchings or some combination of these were used in measuring the length of the vara. In the surveyor general's office in San Francisco in 1906, the late Miss Bailey recalled that during her employment in the office there was a vara stick of wood, about one inch square, without metal ends, but she did not recall the markings or stamps on the stick. A search since 1935 in all possible or likely places in the state and in the west and Mexico has not revealed the existence of one of the old California vara sticks or alcalde staffs; it is possible that one may still be found in the attic of some old pioneer home, and, if discovered, it is hoped that it may be preserved in some appropriate institution. The late Prof. Gilmore of Davis secured a vara stick from San Salvador, which was in actual use by a carpenter when secured; it is now in the Bancroft Library. The present writer secured in 1941, through the kindness of F. W. McBryde of Ohio State University, an alcalde staff from an Indian alcalde in a village in northern Guatemala; it was in actual use in land measurement when McBryde acquired it. McBryde also secured a vara stick from a young Indian weaver in a village in the state of Oaxaca, Mexico; the weaver was using it in measuring cloth woven on his loom; this one, very likely, is very similar to those used in California. Both of these sticks have been placed in the Bancroft Library. Recently a Sonora vara stick from Arizpe has been acquired by the Los Angeles County Museum and is fully described by R. M. Ariss in the Museum *Quarterly*.[99] It was used by an Arizpe merchant and his heirs from the early 1800's to 1895. It is made of lignum vitae; its tips have been lost, and it now measures 32⅞ inches in length; it is divided by inlaid bone on one side into thirds and on the other into quarters, all of unequal lengths, with some shorter markings apparently indicated. It is also marked with M A (Municipality of Arizpe) and with a series of years, as they can be deciphered, from 1838 to 1852 and possibly 1862, indicating the resealing by the Oficiana del Fiel Contracte. The vara stick was very probably quite similar to those used in Alta California.

From these facts it appears that the California vara length varied in three periods with some local variations. In the Spanish-Mexican period the length was slightly under 33 inches but with some variations. During the transition period from the late 1840's to 1852 it was regarded by many pioneers, especially engineers and officials, as 33 inches, and this was made official in 1852 and used until 1855 by the surveyor general. From somewhere between June 4 and 11, 1855, to the present the length has been 33.372 inches, and has been used in all the surveys of the Spanish and Mexican private land grants in the state. In any use of the vara, in terms of inches, it is well to regard the length as the short vara slightly under 33 inches, for all studies in the Spanish and Mexican periods; as 33 inches for all studies involving the late 1840's and early 1850's, and as 33.372 for all studies since 1855. For all practical and general use the 33-inch vara may be used.

NOTES

1. *See* notes 12, 22, 23, 30, 63 below.
2. *See* note 26 below.
3. "Archivo de California" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), State Papers, Sacramento, III, 18.
4. *Ibid.*, Provincial State Papers, XVIII, 321 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, Departmental Records, VI, 148.
6. *Ibid.*, State Papers, Missions and Colonization, II, 234 ff, 237.
7. *Ibid.*, Legislative Records, II, 72 ff.
8. "Archivo de Monterey" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), V, 31.
9. "Archivo de California" (note 3 above), Departmental State Papers, Angeles, VIII, 19.
10. *Idem*, p. 72.

11. Henry D. and Josefa C. Fitch, "Documentos para la Historia de California" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), pp. 980 ff.

12. G. Rodríguez, *Pesos y Medias del Mundo* (Habaña, 1922); Institut d' Agriculture, *Recueil de Coefficients et d'Equivalences* (Rome, 1922).

13. M. Velásquez, *Diccionario . . . de la Lengua Española* (New York, 1900).

14. *Enciclopedia Sopena* (Barcelona, 1925).

15. Academia Española, *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (Madrid, 1933); Arturo Masriera Colomer, *Diccionario de Diccionarios* (Barcelona, 1917); *Nuevo Diccionario de la Lengua Castillana* (Paris, 1869).

16. Land case No. 92 ND, in U. S. District Court, San Francisco.

17. *See also* H. E. Bolton, tr., Palou's *New California* (Berkeley, 1926), I, 51, note.

18. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., IX (49), 24.

19. Bur. Am. Republics, *Bulletin*, No. 4, 1891, "Moneys, Weights and Measures of the American Republics."

20. I. D. A. Johnson, *Modern Metrology* (London, 1882).

21. R. J. Kerr, *Handbook of Mexican Law* (Chicago, 1909), p. 225. The sitio he gives as 4,338.464 acres, and the vara as 835.019 mm or 2.73956 feet. His two figures for the vara are not quite equivalent, and the league based on vara-footage equals 4,307.386 acres.

22. *Sistema Metrico-Decimal* (Mexico, 1857). This Law of March 15, 1857, established the metric system in Mexico, to be put into effect on Jan. 1, 1861; the publication gives full conversion tables. The arroba is equivalent to 11.501563 kilograms or 25.356 pounds.

23. A. E. Kennelly, *Vestiges* of *Pre-Metric Weights* and *Measures* (New York, 1928).

24. Land case No. 192 ND. *The Californian*, Nov. 11, 1846; P. Tikhmeneff, *Historical Review of the Origin of the Russian-American Company* (St. Petersberg, 1861), p. 287, note 31. Here the arroba is given as equal to 28 pounds or 25.2 pounds avoirdupois.

25. *S. Ex. Docs.*, 31st Cong., 2nd sess., III (18), 30. In the Fitch documentos (note 11 above), is a short paper on "Spanish Weights." The arroba equals 25.36 pounds; the fanega (dry) equals 1.599 bushels; fanega (area) of corn equals 1.1313 acres. The vara, for the measure of cloth, linen, and silk, equals 33.384 inches. The league, divided into 3 millas, equals, for roads since 1766, 4.291 miles, while the "judicial league" equals 2.682 miles. The bushel is that of Winchester and equals 2,150.42 cubic inches. In the same documentos, p. 158, is a Fitch bill of sale, giving cloth measures in yards and the equivalent varas; here the vara equals 33.33 inches. This document is undated and unsigned, and there is no indication that it applied to California.

26. Bolton, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 46, 53; "Documentos para la Historia da California" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), IV, 19, sec. 24.

27. Departmental State Papers, Angeles (as in note 9 above).

28. *See* note 66 below.

29. *H. Ex. Docs.* (as in note 18 above).

30. F. W. Clarke, *Weights* and *Measures* (New York, 1891).

31. *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (Mexico, 1863).

32. J. H. Alexander, *Universal Dictionary of Weights and Measures* (New York, 1867), written in 1850; G. B. Griffin, in a note to his translation of a Serra letter, gives about 1¼ bushels for the fanega (Hist. Soc. So. Calif., *Publs.*, II, 79).

33. *S. Ex. Docs.*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., X (32), 32, 46.

34. P. Meigs, "Dominican Mission Frontier of Lower California," *Univ. Calif. Publs. Geog.*, VII (1935).

35. *S. Ex. Docs.*, 34th Cong., 3rd sess., VI (27), 83. This is a report of the secretary of the treasury on weights and measures, 1857.

36. Otto von Kotzebue, *New Voyage* (London, 1830), II, 99; A. Forbes, *California* (London, 1839), p. 260.

37. Frank Soulé *et al*, *Annals of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1855), pp. 62, 163; H. H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco, 1888), pp. 350, 795; Theodore H. Hittell, *California* (San Francisco, 1885), I, 534. In his *History of California*, Bancroft interchanges fanegas and bushels in presenting mission and other statistics.

38. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (New York, 1846), p. 61.

39. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado* (New York, 1861), p. 65.

40. W. P. Garner, "Letters from California," in *Magazine of History*, extra no. 103 (1924), p. 174.

41. Patrick McChristian, "Narrative . . ." (manuscript, Bancroft Library).

42. Land case No. 2 ND; San Francisco District Court, case No. 0084, Smith *v.* Dorland; *The Northern Crown*, June 1911.

43. Anson S. Blake, "The Hudson's Bay Company in San Francisco," this QUARTERLY, XXVIII (June 1949), 109; F. W. Beechey, *Voyage to the Pacific* (London, 1831), II, 37.

44. Land case No. 192 ND. Zapeda stated that he was a carpenter and not an agriculture man; he gave 11 almuds for an arroba. *S. Ex. Docs.*, as in note 35 above.

45. W. H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 136.

46. P. Tikhmeneff, *op. cit.*, p. 287; K. T. Khlebnikov, in "Russian America" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), III, 121; *see also ibid.*, III, part 4, p. 126, where Captain Lutke, who sailed to the colonies in 1826-29, states that the "Fanega is a measure nearly equal to the Russian chetvert; the arroba is a weight of 28 Russian pounds." In the Russian text the word chetvert is used, so the question of translation does not arise. The arroba equivalent given by Lutke is very close, but his meaning of chetvert is unknown. This measure, chetvert, usually given as a little under 6 bushels, varied, however, in different times and places. The word chetvert, however, may have been written, copied, or printed for chetvertka, which Prof. O. A. Maslenikov, of the Russian department of the University of California, states is one quarter of a chetvert. In the light of Hagemeister's arrangement, the usual chetvert is out of the question. The captain's statement, therefore, throws no light on the matter of the capacity of the fanega. *See also* K. T. Khlebnikov, "Memoirs of California," in *Pac. Hist. Rev.*, IX (Sept. 1940), 326.

47. W. Halley, *Centennial Yearbook* (Oakland, 1876), p. 559.

48. *Emeric v. Alvarado*, transcript (San Francisco, 1878), p. 720.

49. According to a letter from A. W. Adler, Sonoma, the inventory of the estate of Bartolome Tapia, April 28, 1828, included "1 half fanega measure." Land case No. 147 SD.

50. J. A. Rockwell, *Spanish and Mexican Laws* (New York, 1851), I, 664. His square vara of the fanega should read 276 x 184, instead of 376 x 184, and 50,784 instead of 56,784.

51. Land case No. 386 SD.

52. F. Hall, *Laws of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1885), p. 87.

53. M. Galvan, *Ordenanzas de Tierras y Aguas* (Paris, 1855), p. 177; G. H. McBride, *Land Systems of Mexico* (New York, 1923), p. 51. The data given by McBride indicate that the fanega of wheat was 0.03 acre, and the fanega of corn 3 acres.

54. M. G. Vallejo, "Documentos" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), X, 229; Clarence John DuFour, "The Russian Withdrawal from California," this QUARTERLY, XII (Sept. 1933), 258-59. The Sutter inventory of Fort Ross is in the possession of Edwin Grabhorn, San Francisco.

55. *S. Ex. Docs.*, 31st Cong., 2nd sess., III (18), 30.

56. Sena *v. U. S.*, 189 U.S. 235; 47 Law Ed. 789. This grant was petitioned for in 1728.

57. *Alta California*, Oct. 12, 1857; Land case No. 233 ND.

58. "Principal Actions of the California Junta De Fomento of 1825-1827," *transl. and ed. by* Keld J. Reynolds, this QUARTERLY, XXIV (Dec. 1945), 310, 318-19; Fitch "Documentos," *loc. cit.;* Miguel Costansó, "Diary," *ed. by* Frederick J. Teggart, Acad. Pac. Coast History, *Publs.*, II, no. 4 (Aug. 1911), pp. 150, 310; "Archivo de Santa Barbara" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), III, 228 ff; Z. Engelhardt, *Mission of Santa Inés* (Santa Barbara, 1932), p. 24; Land case No. 424 ND.

59. L. Hamilton, *Mexican Laws* (San Francisco, 1882), p. 103.

60. Land case No. 319 ND.

61. San Jose, county recorder, Deeds, E, 231.

62. Land case No. 424 ND; Cal. Supreme Court, Lestrade *v.* Barth, in State Archives at Sacramento. In Ainsa *v.* U. S., 161 U.S., 219; 40 Law Ed., 677, the league is given as 4,338.464 acres.

63. *Enciclopedia Sopena* (as in note 14 above).

64. A. von Humboldt, *Essay* . . . (London, 1814), II, 82; J. Wheless, *Compendium of the Laws of Mexico* (St. Louis, 1910), II, 803.

65. Letters from Bureau of Standards.

66. As in note 35 above, pp. 19, 180.

67. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

68. As in note 33 above, p. 11.

69. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 33rd Cong., 2nd sess., I, part 1, 95 ff; Thomas Corwin Donaldson, *Public Domain* (Washington, 1884), pp. 396, 399. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 106; M. Galvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 177. The state surveyor general evidently had these figures in mind when he wrote to a county surveyor, E. B. Kellogg, on Sept. 5, 1850: "I have no table of Spanish measures and all the information I can give you at present is that the Spanish vara is 32.993 inches. . . ." (State Archives, Sacramento.)

70. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

71. As in note 18 above, pp. 18, 24.

72. Ainsa *v.* U. S. (as in note 62 above). The statement also gives the cordel (50 varas) as 137.95 feet. This, however, means a vara of 33.109 inches.

73. E. Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration de l'Oregon* . . . (Paris, 1844), I, 289. His statements are not overly exact.

74. *The Star*, Aug. 28, 1847; Soulé *et al*, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

75. J. Q. Thornton, *Oregon and California* (New York, 1849), II, 73. F. Hall, *History of San Jose* (San Francisco, 1871), p. 130, says the vara is "within a fraction of 33⅓ inches."

76. U. S. Circuit Court, case No. 67, Rogers *v.* Day, in San Francisco.

77. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31st Cong., 1st sess., IX (18), 115; C. Bouchacourt, *Notice Industrielle sur Californie* (Lyon, 1849), p. 23; *see also* note 33 above, p. 100; and Thornton, *op. cit.*, II, 73.

78. O'Farrell's plat of Petaluma, wall map, recorder's office, Santa Rosa.

79. Land case No. 421 ND; Santa Clara County engineer, Maps A, 21, 73, 86.

80. Land case No. 226 ND.

81. San Jose, county recorder, Deeds, A, 21, 73, 86; 3:66.

82. Cal. Supreme Court, case No. 10,577, Leese *v.* Clark, State Archives, Sacramento.

83. U. S. Circuit Court, case No. 563, Luco *v.* Hare, in San Francisco.

84. Land case No. 367 ND. This figure, 108 varas equalling 100 yards, was also given in Jan. 1849 in the engineer's report of the Mexican War. It gives 1 foot as equal to 11⅑ inches; 1 vara equal to 33⅓ inches; or 108 varas equal to 100 yards. These figures are for Mexico. *See also* note 33 above, p. 11.

85. U. S. *v.* Perot, 98 U.S. 428 ff; 25 Law Ed. 251 ff; *Journal*, Cal. Legisl., 3rd sess., p. 620.

86. U. S. *v.* Perot, as in preceding note; Land case No. 403 ND. Other estimates found: Jones, *op. cit.*, in his report in 1850, gave the square league as 4,428.402 acres, which means a vara of 33.33 inches; A. Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1852), p. 7, note, gives the vara as 32.4 inches. *See also* 49 Texas 235.

87. Andrés Castillero *v.* U. S., 2 Black 17 ff; 17 Law Ed. 380 ff. *See also* the New Almaden private land-grant case (San Francisco, 1860), II, 1099; Black survey, 388 SD and 425 ND; Land case No. 92 ND, distances given; Land cases nos. 298 ND, 232 ND, 233 ND, 380 ND, 403 SD; report, General Land Office, Nov. 30, 1854.

88. U.S. *v.* Perot, *op. cit.*, letter of land commissioner to Justice Catron.

89. Land cases nos. 233 ND, 380 ND. Mandeville's instructions and references to them, in Land cases nos. 29 ND, 35 SD, 298 ND, 300 ND, 318 ND, 339 ND, 342 ND.

90. Letters from W. H. Richards, T. C. Howell, Elizabeth B. Drewry, and J. D. Wolfsohn.

91. Letters from Herman Kahn of National Archives.

92. 16 Howard 619; 14 Law Ed. 1080. 17 Howard 524; 15 Law Ed. 236. 17 Howard 541; 15 Law Ed. 241.

93. Leander Ransom, who was deputy surveyor general and chief clerk in the office of the surveyor general in San Francisco during this period, testified in 1866 in the Laguna de Merced private land-grant case (No. 380 ND) that the vara was 2 feet 9 inches in the early surveys, but "at a subsequent period the length was made to correspond with the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court which made a difference in the two measurements of 98 acres to the league." And A. W. von Schmidt, the deputy surveyor general who made the Mariposa survey, testified in the same Laguna de Merced case, that at first the vara was 33 inches but "it was afterwards ascertained that the measure was too short and was corrected to 33.372 inches." Most of Ransom's papers and documents were burned in the 1906 San Francisco fire. G. B. Ashcroft, *compiler*, "Col. Leander Ransom" (miscellaneous materials, in Bancroft Library). Only three letters of Von Schmidt are available, and these contain nothing relative to the length of the vara. California State Library, Sacramento. The extant Hays papers are scattered from California to New York. Prof. J. K. Greer of Texas, who is writing the biography of Hays, states that there is nothing in the papers and documents bearing on the length of the vara or the change in its length. Nor has anything been found on this problem in the Hays papers, newly acquired by the Calif. Hist. Society.

94. Land case No. 382 ND, Hays' letter to Deputy Surveyor General Green for the survey of Cañada de Capay. (Copy also in Hays papers, Calif. Hist. Society.)

95. Letters from W. H. Richards, and Robert C. Gooch. The 1849 edition of Lee's *Tables* is in the office of naval records and library, Washington; the 1853 edition is in the Library of Congress.

96. Letters from Elizabeth B. Drewry.

97. A note in a notebook of John Clar, who was connected with the Spanish archives and with the surveyor's office as an engineer during the Hays administration, has several references to Lee's *Tables* of 1849 but no mention of the later edition. It mentions that Hays "took charge of the office on July 15, 1853"; and notes the change of the length of the vara to the longer length but without giving the date of the change. The notebook is in the possession of a grandson, C. Raymond Clar, chief deputy state forester, Sacramento.

98. Donaldson, *op. cit.*, p. 396; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32nd Cong., 2nd sess., I, part 1, p. 90.

99. Los Angeles County Museum, *Quarterly*, VI (Fall, 1947), p. 7.

The Reminiscences of Joseph D. Grant*

(Concluded)

POWER: HYDROELECTRIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE WEST

The Civilization of the Future will be Measured by the Consumption of Electric Kilowatt Hours per Capita.

I do not know who said this, but the prophecy is borne out by the facts. Electric power is the tireless slave of mankind. It serves railroad and telegraph, factory and mine, farm and home. All machinery, from the huge excavator-shovel to the delicate polishing-wheel of the lapidary, can be driven by electric current.

Since the beginning of this century, the conspicuous factor in the increase of our national prosperity has been electric power; and, in its development, the west has led the van. For years paucity of coal held back our industrial progress, but engineers of vision saw that the vacuum could be filled by using "white coal," the waters roaring down our mountain canyons. At the same time, petroleum was gushing *up*. The twins met. Within a decade, lack of coal was made good; and the wheels of western industry revolved furiously.

To be of practical benefit, electric power must be cheap. Along the length of the Pacific coast are mountain ranges, practically parallel with the shoreline and from 100 to 300 miles inland. Today, snow-fed torrents from these sierras turn the turbines in the power-houses below, generating electric energy at a minimum cost, *the lowest in the land.* More than two-thirds of the hydroelectric power development in the United States has taken place within the eleven westernmost states, the greater proportion of it west of the Sierra Nevada and the Cascades.

I rushed, like John Gilpin (being also a simple draper) into this big power business, as gaily as John mounted his steed.

Why?

I had money to invest. A friend had told me of a dam site on the Upper Klamath River adapted to the production of power on an immense scale. I looked at that site. What I saw took my breath away: a vision of tremendous possibilities. Perhaps I had a touch of mountain fever. Anyway, I persuaded some friends of mine to join me; we got control of the power-site; we went joyously to work; and we wallowed for a season in a fool's paradise.

In 1911, we incorporated as the California-Oregon Power Company, absorbing the Siskiyou company. I found myself president of the consolidated corporation.

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*As in the previous installment (June 1951 QUARTERLY, pp. 207-15), the chapters from Mr. Grant's "Reminiscences" printed here are those that pertain to his business activities. They were written in 1940.

Our field of enterprise, which went on swelling "wisibly," like the fat boy in Pickwick, covered an area of 16,000 square miles — a territory larger than Switzerland and almost as mountainous. Mount Shasta, in its majestic isolation the grandest peak in California, reminded me of the emblem of our clan. To the north are the Siskiyous and the Cascades, down whose sides boil the waters of three magnificent rivers, the Klamath, the Rogue and the Umpqua. We picked up power sites on all these.

Within this region are the chain of Klamath Lakes; the weird lava beds where Captain Jack and his Modoc braves fought our soldiers in 1873; and that world-wonder, Crater Lake, held within the chalice of an extinct volcano. How tonic to gaze at such scenery, and what a sportsman's paradise! My canny Scots instinct told me that these amenities would attract many visitors to our highlands and enhance the prosperity of the whole territory. But I confess that now and again my extremities were chilled. In our own racy slang, had we bitten off more than we could chew? In economic development, this region was a last frontier.

Whereas Switzerland supports some 4,000,000 inhabitants, our territory had hardly 100,000 people, despite the promise of its fertile acres in the Rogue, Shasta, and Umpqua valleys. Manifestly, much pioneering remained to be done. Upon this task our power company entered with brisk enthusiasm, playing nurse to agriculture in the valleys, and to lumbering and mining in the mountains.

In 1911 we began the dam in a narrowing of the Klamath River canyon, nine miles downstream from the point where the river enters California, a spectacular location, in lava rock-formations, wild and rugged, and the scene of Indian warfare. Hard by the dam, old flintlocks and other relics were turned up by our workers.

We named our dam Copco One — "Copco" signifying California-Oregon Power Company. Above the dam was created a man-made lake, a silvery sheet of water six miles long and a mile wide. Geologists reminded us that this was not the first time the valley had been submerged; they pointed out that ages ago a natural obstruction blocked the river-channel, just as the steel-and-cement wall does today.

Meanwhile, our business barometer, apparently at "set fair," began almost imperceptibly to indicate a change in financial conditions. *We hadn't money enough.* The will to win through, animating all of us, outstripped performance. We had acquired control of other properties, but we lacked cold cash to develop them as adequately as our engineers, the best men in the state, insisted that they must be developed. Finally, I went to New York to interest, if I could, certain bankers who "specialized" in hydroelectric development. I failed to interest these gentlemen. My fault, no doubt. I was a novice in high finance, and they had not seen our properties. They said — a statement which I salted away—that for the moment no capital was available. Somehow I felt that I might be pretty smart in the drygoods business but I was a qualified fool as a "promoter."

To make matters worse for me and my loyal friends, we had come within an ace of getting active support from one of our big railroad men. From the inception of our enterprise, we had had in mind that the great railroads would electrify their mountain lines.

I met E. H. Harriman in San Francisco. He asked me what I intended to do with our power site. I said that my associates and I were planning to develop it. "Go ahead," enjoined Harriman, "and if you need money, I'll advance it." We had no written understanding with the colossus, and when he died we could not approach his heirs, as his offer had been informal. Had he carried out the electrification of the Siskiyou division of the Southern Pacific he would have been the first in the United States to electrify a trunk-line railroad. A few years later the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul won this distinction with the electrification of its Rocky Mountain division.

In our power development I had worn out my jeans reaching for more money. And my own friends, whom I had lured into this thing, had worn out shoe leather in the same quest. Our dam, the pride of our hearts, had cost three million dollars instead of two.

Returning to San Francisco, our little group met, faced the facts, and we practically agreed to pool all our available resources. Salvation might yet come from within; it couldn't come from without. We were risking all we had, we were imperiling the comfort of our wives and families, we were gambling with life and happiness. It was, as we all agreed, Death or Victory.

I pause for a moment to consider what might have been the attitude of the Man in the Street towards us, not as we were, but as we appeared to be (carrying on outwardly as usual)—bloated capitalists. Such a man might have exclaimed: "They were out for big money, having more already than they deserved to have: I don't pity them!" But we were not out for money in that material sense. We were not out for "power" (no pun intended); we were, to a man, almost crazy mad to *do* a big thing for California and Oregon, whereby conditions might be enormously bettered. We wanted, if you like, to exclaim with the architect, Christopher Wren: "This is our monument."

To emphasize our financial position, one cheery soul on our board, when we met after my return from New York, said to me: "Joe, don't you know we're already bankrupt?" Well, we weren't; I knew it; so did he; but we were sailing perilously close to the wind.

Meanwhile we tried to get control of other properties. There were only four of us. When we attempted to negotiate, the vendors told us that they would sell provided we put up a large deposit in cash. We couldn't do it. Others bought the properties. We had coveted them not out of avarice but because we saw so clearly that a whole could be worked infinitely more cheaply and efficiently than a part.

After years of hard work we found ourselves in fairly smooth water, making money as a comparatively small concern, but with our future, as we envisaged it, hopelessly "cribbed, cabined and confined."

We decided to sell — at a profit, yes, but with big ambitions thwarted.

Why?

Because capital is concentrated in the east. It is not concentrated in the west; it is not fluid. A banker reading this might say: "We can't go into these promotion schemes." But in California — and I'm speaking as a banker — we *have* promoted such enterprises; we *have* backed intelligence and honesty; and it is greatly to our credit that we have done this again and again. There was plenty of money in San Francisco to finance our power company. But it is not the policy of our bankers to work together. If you do business with one bank, other banks regard you with indifference.

Well, perhaps that type of banking is all right — for some. But bankers who want to make money *must* be connected with active enterprises, with energetic men who are alive to the needs and to the swiftly-shifting currents of the times. Otherwise, bankers who control the money of a community are likely to become little more than barnacles impeding its full speed ahead.

In 1926 we sold out to the Byllesby interests, operating on a national scale. They linked us up with their vast holdings to the north. It was a logical step in the integration of power companies into stronger combinations.

Another problem, on its way to solution, is the necessity for interlocking power systems, so that surplus power can be passed from one to another, relieving power shortage which may exist anywhere. Such a "hook-up" in California is sponsored by the state commission which regulates the affairs of the power companies; and there is now one hydroelectric power system, interconnected along the entire length of the Pacific Coast from Canada to Mexico, invaluable in times of scarcity of power, and the first complete unit in that "super-power" system foreseen by Herbert Hoover. Within a few years we may anticipate a nation-wide power system — great high tension trunk-lines, with smaller distribution lines radiating from them. This vision will become reality, unless it meets obstruction through "freak" legislation.

We must recognize that there is a persistent campaign of propaganda and manipulation to bring under political control the functions of public utility corporations. This movement is due partly to ignorance, partly to misguided idealism. Too often it has been manured by personal ambition.

But whatever the reasons for this opposition, it is obvious that it must be fought tooth and talon. *Let us insure public recognition of the facts.* Public utilities in the United States are now being operated with a view to the public interest. We must emphasize that they are operated efficiently and economically; that they will play an important part in the upbuilding of the community; that their profits, regulated by commissions representing the public, far from being exorbitant are on the average less than the rewards accorded to most forms of constructive enterprise. Granting that there has been manipulation (and occasional dishonesty) in the administration of public utilities, it can be stated with thanksgiving that today our executives are capable, honest, public-spirited men, and that their restricted power is more to the common weal than the unrestricted autocracy of any political commission.

One method of holding general good-will, employed by farsighted public utility corporations, has been the plan of widely distributing their securities among the people. The sense of responsibility for the conduct of the corporation's affairs and the knowledge of its administration are thus proportionately allocated, and the community is permeated with the *facts.*

Sometimes the limited comprehension of individual members of the public as to the relationship of stockholders to the corporation raises a smile. Take the case of the man who was brought into court accused of filching power from a "Pacific Service" line. In wide-eyed innocence he protested, "I was only taking current off our own line. Ain't I a stockholder in the corporation?" A quite humorous conception of "customer ownership."

The price to the public for electric power has steadily been going *down!* And all this in the face of official stupidity. A monumental instance: the California-Oregon Power Company recently had planned to build an additional dam on the Klamath River near Klamath Falls, at Grant Site. Political meddling, and the vetoing of an "enabling act" by the governor of Oregon, caused a change of plan, and the dam is to be built instead at a site lower down the river, in California. Thus southern Oregon has lost a $4,000,000 development, and another striking demonstration has been given of the mobility of capital. If ill-treated in one locality, straightway it will seek another.

Supreme above all our problems is the conservation of water. This has been referred to, but repetition, according to Napoleon, is the first figure of rhetoric. Its importance cannot be overestimated. There are "power water, irrigation water and domestic water" to be supplied, and how often the peak demand for these three comes inopportunely. The subject exacts exhaustive consideration by experts; and it has been studied in California by the Hoover-Young Commission, under the chairmanship of George C. Pardee, former governor of California. His work as chairman of the East Bay Municipal Utility District, bringing water to Oakland, Berkeley, and Alameda from the far-off Mokelumne River, speaks for itself.

The Hoover-Young commission completed a survey of our water resources and reported to the state legislature of 1931. May a solution be found, as a result of that report, to offset the shortage which imperils us. Provision should be made to encourage the conservation of water through private enterprise. Overregulation will hamstring individual initiative, the driving force which brought our fathers here and which fired them to make good, developing our resources in a marvelously short span of time. The freedom of a new country is at stake. Restrictions handicap brains and palsy muscles. With restriction there is no incentive for the best minds to work. A helot can obey orders. On the other hand, if private capital is encouraged to carry out its manifest destiny, California will be starred with a myriad of man-made lakes, every available dam site will be used, and no water will run needlessly to waste.

"Where are the snows of yesteryear?" asked the poet, François Villon, in the fifteenth century. "On everyman's cabbage patch," I reply, "*if* wise conservation comes to pass."

California leads the world in hydroelectric development, still in its childhood. For myself, it has been a rejuvenation to have set my hand to the kind of work which, at long last, has transmuted water into gold.

STEEL: A NEW INDUSTRY IN THE WEST

The Staunchness to Stand, the Elasticity to Yield, the Readiness to Take Uncounted Supple Shapes and Hold them Firmly — these are the Greatness and Grace of Steel.

When I adventured into steel, I fear that my father would not have approved, but he was born in a part of Scotland where for three months in the winter even active men have to twiddle their thumbs. We of the west tackled this basic industry of steel at a belated hour. For our well-being, it was lucky that we could tackle it, because without it the expansion of recent years would have been almost impossible.

The metal-working industries in San Francisco began in 1849 in Peter and James Donahue's blacksmith forge on the waterfront. From this humble origin grew the famous Union Iron Works. In the 1880's, Anson P. Hataling, Irving Scott, and a few friends formed a company, bought a large tract of woodland and iron ore deposits near Clipper Gap in the Sierra, built smelting furnaces and produced several thousand tons of pig iron of good quality; but the production costs were prohibitive, and the charcoal furnace fires were quenched. Presence of iron ores in sands along the Pacific coast inspired attempts to smelt them, but, although results were encouraging, no commercial production followed.

In short, the lack of good coking coal in proximity to iron ores made it impossible for us to manufacture steel on a paying basis. For a number of years, iron was smelted at the Noble plant at Heroult, in the Mount Shasta region, by a novel electric-furnace process, but this method proved too expensive.

As industry expanded, small foundries were established here and there. In time, steel manufacturing began on a Liliputian scale. But no pig iron was produced in the west. The local steel plants depended upon scrap iron and steel re-melted and refined in open-hearth furnaces. Much of this scrap was collected within the area or shipped from China. The output of steel was negligible, "a mere white chip" in the great game of American steel production.

Our steel history in the west begins with the Columbia Steel Company.

A group of us, for the most part descendants of California pioneers, were interested in the dredging of ancient river-channels for gold. We used enormous cumbrous dredges. To manufacture and repair parts for the dredges we were obliged to set up a foundry, and out of a diminutive plant to mend buckets grew the vast steel industry of the west.

In 1908 our foundry was established at Pittsburg, California, a site selected because of its strategic position on the deep waters of upper San Francisco Bay, because it is reached by transcontinental railroad lines, and because it was believed that labor conditions there would be less disturbed than in San Francisco. Pittsburg is in the lowlands at the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, north of Mount Diablo. In the gold-rush days the place was named "New York of the Pacific"; later it bore the fanciful name of "Black Diamond," because a ledge of coal had been worked nearby, but it was coal of inferior value, so production ceased. Recognition of the industrial possibilities of the town-site caused the change to "Pittsburg," a name unimaginative, but prophetic of the future development of the "steel city" of the west.

The foundry flourished, and its activities became diversified. As a step in its contemplated coastwise expansion, our company acquired another plant, at Portland, Oregon.

During the World War [I] we employed about 1,000 workers. The company hitherto had engaged in the manufacture of billets, bars and steel castings. It was commanded by the government to manufacture open-hearth steel.

At the end of the war, the steel companies on the Pacific coast found that they were in possession of greatly enlarged capacity as the result of wartime demands. Their combined ingot capacity was not far from 600,000 tons. As has been pointed out, our manufacture of steel depended largely upon the supply of available scrap iron. The local supply was not more than 225,000 tons annually, and war demands had sent much of it out of the country. High gross freight rates on scrap iron and pig iron (raised during the war) made it economically unprofitable to ship raw material from the east or from abroad.

Such was the situation of the industry at the end of the war. The Columbia Steel Company felt the pinch keenly. We had a big plant equipment for the production of steel and steel products, and while we had some scrap available, future supplies were uncertain. This condition forced us to look about for a fresh supply of raw material. The west has good grades of iron ore, but for pig iron production it is necessary to have also, in fairly close proximity to them, beds of coking coal.

Our eyes were directed toward the coal and iron deposits of Utah. We knew that, during the war, developments had been perfected in blast-furnace technique which made it possible to utilize coal in pig iron production which hitherto had been classified as non-coking. Engineers, sent to Utah, reported that deposits were adequate, and that the coal would meet our requirements.

At the head of our company we had a superman, Wigginton Creed. He saw that if we could produce pig iron in Utah we should have a tremendous advantage in competition with eastern producers. Early in 1922 our board of directors went to Utah, looked over the ground, conferred with the owners and secured options.

Upon his return to San Francisco, Creed was questioned by interviewers, asking if a steel merger were in the making, to which he replied: "I have less than nothing to say on that!" But within a short time he announced the integration which created the first complete steel company west of the Rocky Mountains.

In November 1922, the Columbia Steel Corporation was organized. In it were merged and consolidated all the properties of the Columbia Steel Company and the Utah Coal and Coke Company. Its purpose was to manufacture steel, beginning with the development of the raw materials and carrying on the manufacturing processes to the fabrication of finished steel products. The new corporation represented a capital of about $20,000,000, and I found myself elected first vice-president. Wigginton Creed, of course, was president.

Securing control of the properties of the Utah Coal and Coke Company, valued at about $15,000,000, the Columbia Steel Corporation gained assets of a value potentially much greater, for in the west these were the only known deposits of coking coal adaptable to blast-furnace operation, close to iron ore deposits. From this bituminous coal, high in volatile matter, low in sulphur and ash, an excellent grade of metallurgical coke is produced, as well as gas and by-products. The coal properties lie in Carbon County, Utah, centering at the mining town called Columbia. The great thickness of the seam, efficient labor, the unbroken character of the deposits, and the favorable climatic conditions insured low mining costs. The recoverable coal in these holdings is at least 60,000,000 tons.

The iron ore products secured are in the Iron Springs district, Utah. These ore bodies compare favorably in quantity and quality with the famed ores of the Mesabi Range of Minnesota, and they can be mined by steam-shovel methods. The quality of the hematite is such that the pig iron produced is suitable not only for foundry and malleable castings but also for steel pipe, due to its low phosphorus-content. At the time of the consolidation, these Utah mineral properties had been prospected but not developed. One of our first undertakings was to open up the coal and iron deposits, and production began on a large scale.

In selecting a site for pig iron production, the fundamental consideration is assembly cost. It was at Ironton, situated at the base of a great mountain near Provo, Utah, that we began the construction of the necessary blast furnace and by-product coke ovens. From the coal fields the haul to this place is 120 miles; from the iron mines, 220 miles. Limestone for blast-furnace use is quarried near the blast-furnace site, and this represents an important element of economy. The proximity of these raw materials makes assembly costs at this plant lower than at any point in the United States except Birmingham, Alabama.

After the organization of the corporation, and while we were preparing for production, the works at Pittsburg were expanded to include a sheet-steel mill, and rod, wire and nail mills. In the presence of a large and growing demand throughout the west, our company definitely entered the field of general steel manufacture. We felt justified, with ample supplies of cheap raw materials assured, in making great capital investments for mills which hitherto no western steel company could undertake because of isolation from the sources of pig iron supply.

The rod, wire and nail mills were finished late in 1923, and the sheet mills were in operation a few months afterwards. In 1923, also, the Columbia Steel Corporation acquired the open-hearth furnaces, rolling mills and foundry of the Llewellyn Iron Works at Torrance, near Los Angeles.

The big development came with the completion of the blast furnace and coke ovens at Ironton, where the initial pouring of pig iron took place on May 1, 1924. The coke ovens had been in operation for more than a month.

Ironton is only 50 miles from Salt Lake City, and, at the Ironton plant, fitting ceremonies were held. Wigginton Creed gave an eloquent address, pointing out the significance of this, the first commercial production of pig iron in the west, from raw materials mined in the west. It meant the moving of a constant, cheap supply of pig iron 1500 miles nearer to the Pacific coast than before. It gave us a big advantage in railroad freight rates. While the Ironton plant was primarily for the production of pig iron, to meet our own requirements in the manufacture of steel, it was expanded to supply 85 per cent of the users of pig iron in the west.

Before the construction of this plant, consumers purchased pig iron from many sources; it was unstandardized as to quality, and deliveries were not dependable. Consequently the metal trades of the west welcomed the new Columbia plant with enthusiasm.

The coke ovens at Ironton produce furnace coke and by-products such as ammonium sulphate (a fertilizer), motor benzol (a high-grade motor fuel), heating gas and coal tar, so we found ourselves in the heavy chemical industry as a result of our venture as iron-makers. From the products of coal tar, that wizard, the chemist, creates aniline dyes and such drugs as aspirin and phenol.

The giant smelting companies, centered in Utah, contracted to purchase, over a long term of years, coke manufactured by the Columbia Steel Corporation, and, to meet this additional demand, a new battery of coke ovens was constructed.

Our main activity in the manufacture of steel was at Pittsburg. Here a steel plant was created, the pulsating heart of a prosperous and contented community. But it did not come about at the wave of a magician's wand. At the start we had some labor trouble; this condition was soon changed. The corporation built a number of five-room houses for the mill-workers and their families, and with each cottage was a garage. The cottages were sold to the employees at cost, upon easy payments. In addition, the corporation sent around gardeners to lay out lawns and flower gardens about the dwellings. Naturally the families became attached to their homes, and when labor agitators came in from San Francisco to stir up strikes, the women of the community said: "Go away, we don't want you around here!" And they did drive them away, so that Pittsburg was remarkably free from labor disturbances. As to the civic affairs of Pittsburg, we didn't try to run politics, but worked in harmony with municipal development.

In its early years, the Columbia Steel Corporation had its trials and tribulations, its "sackcloth and ashes." It encountered fiercest competition. Many purchasers of steel products in the west made blue predictions about the ultimate success of our enterprises, and hesitated to accept our output.

I recall Wigginton Creed pacing his office and denouncing the "doubting Thomases" in no uncertain terms. "There is a feeling here," he said, "that pig iron can only be made east of the Missouri; that steel has to be produced on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, and that it is a dangerous and hopeless task to undertake transmutation of western raw materials into the products of commerce." Later, when our products met acceptance, he commented, with a twinkle in his eye: "I am moved to say that the old misbelief has disappeared. No longer do we hear talk of the 'impossibility' of our iron-making."

The Pittsburg plant, as it grew, presented an inspiring sight of industrial activity. The open-hearth furnaces glowed. Huge red-hot ingots weighing several tons were brought out from the furnaces and sent through the rollers till they lay like thin, flaming red sheets of metal a hundred feet long. Our foundry could turn out steel castings weighing as much as thirty-five tons.

The processes of manufacturing wire, nails, corrugated iron and hexagon wire mesh attracted the wondering attention of visitors. They saw fabricating methods which long had been restricted to the east and were new in California. Out of a little foundry employing 125 men had grown a plant with 1800 workers, representing an investment of more than $8,000,000. In our entire organization there were 3800 employees.

The plant at Portland specialized in the manufacture of carbon-manganese steel and other alloy steels. At Torrance there were two open-hearth furnaces and an electric furnace for steel production; also an extensive foundry and rolling mills.

As part of a program of expansion, the Columbia Steel Company in 1925 secured holdings at Iron Mountain, Utah, including a huge hill of high-grade iron ore. During the next year we formed a subsidiary to manufacture pressure pipe and soil pipe under the McWaine processes, and we purchased the plant of the Pacific Sheet Steel Corporation at South San Francisco, moving the equipment to Torrance. Despite the fact that so much of the earnings was turned back into the business for expansion and development, we showed a substantial profit each year.

On August 6, 1927, we sustained a great loss in the death of Wigginton Creed, president since the day of organization. He was a business leader of inspired vision. As personal secretary to D. O. Mills, the pioneer banker of San Francisco and New York, he had made an admirable start. He decided to enter the legal profession, and, returning to California from New York, he engaged in the practice of law, building up a lucrative business. Later he made a record as president of the East Bay Water Company. His achievements led to his becoming president of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the second largest distributor of electric power in the world. Under his management the company won a reputation for splendid morale among its employees. He was beloved by all his associates. Together they developed the "customer ownership" plan, widely adopted by public utility corporations in recent years.

As B. C. Forbes said, Wigginton Creed was notable as an executive in many ways: "for his idea of how the public ought to be treated, his conception of the responsibilities of business leaders, his methods of organizing and managing a large concern, his attitude towards labor, towards consumers, towards investors, towards regulatory authorities." He worked in a spirit of eminent fairness and plain dealing.

"When you are sure you are right, go ahead," was his favorite maxim.

In this spirit he built up Columbia Steel, and his accomplishments are recorded in the history of the corporation.

At a special meeting of the board of directors, soon after Wigginton Creed's death, I was elected president of the Columbia Steel Corporation.

I found it possible to expand our operations on a scale greater than before. In the fall of 1928 we entered into a construction program under which the producing capacity of our plants at Pittsburg and Torrance was doubled and a tin-plate mill at Pittsburg established.

This tin-plate mill was opened on March 12, 1929 — six months, to a day, after the beginning of construction. It comprised six main buildings in which was installed machinery of intricate design, most of it patented. The investment in plant and equipment amounted to more than $2,000,000. In operation, it employed 450 workers, with an annual output of 40,000 tons of tin-plate.

The process of manufacturing tin-plate is interesting. It involves the production of steel, then the rolling out of the steel sheets of the necessary weight, the plating of these sheets with tin, and the finishing. About eighteen per cent of the tin-plate made in the United States is consumed on the Pacific Coast, being used for the manufacture of containers for fruits, vegetables, fish and other foods, and for petroleum products.

On the day of the opening of Columbia Steel's tin-plate mill, a large crowd assembled. C. C. Young, governor of California, was our honored guest, and in his address he emphasized the importance of this, the first tin-plate mill west of the Mississippi River.

During the course of my remarks as president of the Columbia Steel Corporation, I said: "As I stand here, my thought goes back to another such occasion, not quite five years ago, when we celebrated the initial pouring of pig iron at the Ironton plant. They said we couldn't do it — that we couldn't produce pig iron — but we did! Today we note another giant's stride in the industrial development of the west, the opening of the west's first tin-plate mill. Indeed it is with a glow of pleasure that we of the Columbia Steel Corporation regard these 'firsts' — that first production of pig iron, this first production of tin-plate — for those that are first are *pioneers*, and it is in the pioneer traditions that our people take most pride. It is heart-warming to realize that even though our vast fertile acreage in the west has now been broken to the plow; our whitewater torrents harnessed for power; our expansive land crossed and recrossed by highways and trails of steel, where once the prairie schooners toiled; even though all this progress has been attained, today there is still opportunity for the pioneer."

The rapid progress of the Columbia Steel Corporation, and the fact that we had created a completely integrated unit in the steel industry, attracted attention. It was now generally recognized that the company which had developed in this way, after overcoming innumerable obstacles at the outset, was destined to steady expansion. Capitalists and steel experts in the factory centers of the United States began to scrutinize our progress. Our plants were visited by experts from the largest industrial concerns of America, and how we preened ourselves when these pundits praised the methods and management of our establishments!

In the fall of 1929, as a result of negotiations extending over a considerable period, two distinguished leaders of the steel industry came to San Francisco and held conferences with our executives: James D. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation, and Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the board of directors of that giant industrial company. With them I had many talks, and I found them not only exemplars of the ideal in American business leadership but also companions of delightful personality.

After these gentlemen had made their report to their board of directors, our executive committee went to New York City. Finally the United States Steel Corporation, on October 31, 1929, exercised an option held for several months, and agreed to purchase the properties of the Columbia Steel Corporation for $46,630,000, turning over to the owners of Columbia Steel a block of common stock of the United States Steel Corporation equal in value to the purchase price.

This purchase, one of the biggest business transactions in the history of the west, was hailed as proof positive of the faith of the captains of American industry in the economic future of the Pacific area.

Announcements by the United States Steel Corporation indicate that Pittsburg and Torrance, California, will continue as centers of activity in steel manufacturing. Hitherto, the manufacturing plants of that corporation nearest the west have been in the Chicago district and at Birmingham, Alabama.

It is gratifying to feel that our work has been well done. Particularly satisfying has been the establishment of many new factories on the Pacific coast as a result of the activity of the Columbia Steel Corporation. These companies have engaged successfully in the re-manufacture of iron and steel into a variety of metal products. Foundries, forge plants, metal fabricating establishments and various engineering industries have thrived and developed here as the result of the creation of a fully integrated steel corporation.

As a rule, the wealthiest regions are those wherein steel mills are located. With their allied industries, they not only keep money at home but they reach out into foreign fields for new money.

In thinking back over this industrial experience, I wonder whether it will interest anybody except myself. But I am convinced that big business is a big thing for any man, and adds cubits to his spiritual stature — a statement likely to raise a smile on the lips of our cynics. Big business is so much bigger than any man in it. Quite apart from the dollar angle, it constrains even the most selfish to consider others. There is a constant draft upon sympathies which must be honored, a quickened sense of responsibility. Today the kings of industry are not czars but constitutional monarchs reigning on suffrance.

The Book Trade in California, 1849-1859

By HUGH SANFORD CHENEY BAKER

(Concluded)

IV. THE REORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK TRADE, 1856-1859

At the beginning of 1856, San Francisco, with a population of about 40,000, had forty booksellers.[141] Obviously the city could not support so many properly. As we have seen, Burgess, Gilbert & Still, and Cooke, Kenney & Co. had failed as early as 1854, and Marvin & Hitchcock survived only until the end of 1855.* The new year brought more financial storms (as well as the Vigilance Committee). On February 2, 1856, LeCount & Strong dissolved their partnership,[142] and by April sixth Bonestell & Williston were insolvent.[143] Of these dark days in the midst of the Golden Age, Bancroft writes in his memoirs:

> Often have I thought how fortunate I was that I did not start in business in San Francisco or Sacramento at that time, since the inevitable result would have been failure. As I have said, almost every firm then doing business failed; and if men with capital and experience, with a large trade already established, could not succeed, how could I expect to do so?[144]

Although in this passage Bancroft exaggerated, as he frequently did in his autobiography, and although he blamed eastern exporters for many of the financial difficulties of California dealers,[145] the important fact is that many of the retail stores did survive the crisis. Other book dealers, who had suffered with the other merchants in the city, reorganized their firms, improved their business methods, and supplied good reading matter for Californians. In addition, a few new bookshops were founded.

LeCount retained ownership of his store, and remained in business for many years after the close of the 1850's. His advertisement in the *Bulletin* of December 28, 1858, is similar to his others:

> Fine Library Editions of the following Favorite authors: Rogers' Works, Austen's Works, Poe's Works, Goethe's Works, Cowper's Works, Byron's Works, Addison's Works, Gibbon's Works, N. P. Willis' Works, Swift's Works, Abbott's Hist. of Napoleon, Shakespeare's Works, Alison's Europe, Moore's Works, Prescott's Works, Jefferson's Works, Burke's Works, Calhoun's Works, Webster's Works, Brit. Essayists (38

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*Mr. Joseph Henry Jackson, literary editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, points out, in a personal letter to the author, that Charles Lindley and John R. Ridge owned the copyright of the *Life and Adventures of Joaquin Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit* (referred to on p. 251 of the September installment of the present article, and published by William B. Cooke & Co., successors to Cooke, Kenney & Co.), but that there is no evidence, so far, that Lindley assisted Ridge in authorship. Mr. Jackson says, further, that Mr. Thomas Streeter of Morristown, N. J., owns a copy of the 1854 edition of this novel. [Additional information on Lindley has been turned over to this Society by Dr. Baker for its biographical file. — Ed.]

vols.), [George] Bancroft's Hist. of U. S., Irving's Life of Washington, Poets: Tennyson, Shenstone, Bryant, Whittier, Falconer, Herbert, Bulwer, Scott, Moore, Hood, etc.

John H. Still resumed business under his own name. The notice in the *Bulletin* of April 1, 1856, for Still's Circulating Library is typical of his others: "Terms per month $2. – For reading paper covered novels 25c; Bound Books, 50c. The subscriber is constantly adding to his library all the late Novels and Standard Works of the day as fast as received." He also advertised in French in *Le Phare* regularly, hoping to catch the trade of Europeans in the city. Meanwhile, he continued to sell various periodicals.[146]

The offices of the *Wide West* (then owned by W. W. Kurtz & Co.) announced "Books for the People," including John Payne Collier's edition of Shakespeare, Michaud's *History of the Crusades*, and George Derby's *Phoenixiana* as well as large numbers of novels.[147] Indeed, by January 18, 1857, one could buy bargains from this office – three novels for $1. These advertisements were especially for readers who wished to order books by mail.

Kimball's firm (the Noisy Carrier's Publishing Hall) listed in the *Wide West* numerous paper-backed novels and plays; it paid for many inches of space in the *Golden Era*, and printed short lists of standard expository works in the daily papers, as we notice in the *Bulletin* of April 2, 1856: "Books Just Received – Irving's *The Life of Washington; The Confidential Correspondence of Napoleon*, George Derby's *The Squibob Papers*,"[148] and a few others. Although Kimball attempted to win a better clientele than formerly, apparently his reputation as a seller of "yellow-covered novels" was too well-known in San Francisco to attract such customers. He advertised in the *Alta* on April 7, 1858, that he would close his store on April twentieth, but he continued in business (after a re-organization of the partnership)[149] until 1860, when he closed his doors forever.[150]

While in New York in 1855 and 1856, Bancroft induced dealers to advance him credit on a consignment of books.[151] Late in the latter year in San Francisco, he and George Kenney (who had been selling books in a small store on consignment from LeCount) formed the partnership of H. H. Bancroft & Co., which was to become famous on the Pacific Coast. Even though Bancroft asserted in his memoirs that he had made small profits from the sale of miscellaneous books, he regularly imported the standard British classics, contemporary poetry, and other literary works.[152] On June 23, 1859, the editor of the *Pacific* recommended several of them to his subscribers. It was partially as a result of this business, and partially as an outgrowth of the publication of the *Hand Book Almanac* for 1860, that Bancroft began to collect Californiana, and eventually became author and editor of his monumental history of the Pacific Coast.[153]

Meanwhile, Epes Ellery continued to deal wisely in books.[154] His letter book is particularly instructive to us, as a few examples from it will show.

On December 26, 1856, he wrote to a customer in Grass Valley that he could order Braithwait's *Retrospect* (a practical book on medicine and surgery) and a work by Combe[155] from New York, to be delivered in 60 to 90 days. We learn from a letter of January 20, 1857, that his stock was valued at $8,000 (his liabilities were less than $1,000), and that "I can buy goods in this market cheaper than N. Y. cost today." On February eleventh he informed Clapp & Underwood of Sacramento that he had purchased the entire stock of Valentine & Co., owners of "The Spiritual Bookstore," and regularly thereafter he ordered "liberal works," plays, Catholic books, spiritualistic works, and "fancies" (including erotica), from New York. The books he ordered between May 30, 1857, and July 2, 1858, reflect popular taste of the day; for instance, he requested (in this sequence):

> 10 Camille, 25 Lady of Lyons, 4 Richelieu, 5 Stranger, 3 Gamester, 4 Lovechase, 4 Romeo & Juliet, 10 Evadne, 6 Drunkard, 10 Box & Cox, 2 Ion, 5 Wife, 5 Richard 3rd., 4 Hunchback, 10 Othello, 3 Iron Chest, 5 Merchant of Venice, 10 Ingomar, 5 Irish Lion, 5 Irish Traitors, 5 Honeymoon, 6 Lives [*sic*] Sacrifice, 5 Hamlet, 2 Damon & Pythias, 5 Macbeth, 10 Love in [?] the Country, 1 Ugolino,

again (insisting that he "must have goods at the lowest rates"), "10 Lady of Lyons, 5 Ingomar, 5 Camille, 10 Box & Cox"; later, "4 Romany Rye . . . 2 Hiawatha, 4 Homer's Iliad translated, 2 Heaven & Hell [by Swedenborg]"; and at another time "60 Marriage Guide, 40 Venereal, 30 Male Generative, 30 Diseases of Women." We must remember that these are works which he could not buy cheaply in San Francisco. Since the plays which he ordered, and similar ones, were specified by Kimball in the *Wide West*, we may conclude that San Franciscans bought reading versions of many of the plays they saw on the stage, and that Shakespeare, Bulwer-Lytton, and Dumas *fils* were favorites, while T. S. Arthur, for instance, was not popular among this part of the public.

Other letters specifically show business conditions of the day. He writes on March 3, 1858, to Leavitt & Allen that he wants his order shipped around the Horn, insured for two-thirds of its value, and he declares flatly: "There is a Devil of a row among the Booksellers here at present all closing out and doing no business at that. Use me well will you?" These remarks precede a long order, including many works on spiritualism. Of the latter type, he gives details to Partridge & Brittain on October 9, 1858:

> . . . I am the only dealer in spiritual books in San Francisco – and the only one who will have anything to do with them. I think from what the dealers say they get the few they have orders for from me.
>
> I purchased the balance of Valentine's Stock some time since and he left for Australia using me rather shabbily as indeed he did many others, perhaps you among the number. . . .
>
> Keep sending Parker's Sermons as fast as they come out rather high are they not.

He concludes this order for spiritual, liberal, and Swedenborgian works with a request for "6 Lola Montez Art of Beauty." Meanwhile and later, he asked for Currier & Ives prints, 1000 at a time. When John S. Hittell, a leader among free-thinkers in San Francisco, went to New York, Ellery placed an order with him on August 26, 1859, for:

> 25 Crisis, 10 Hume Essay . . . 15 Paines Theo, 12 Political 2 Vol, 10 Complete 3 vols, 10 Vest Nature, 10 Voltaire Deity, 6 Comte, 10 Ovid, 12 Devil's Pulpit, 12 vol new researches, 20 do Ruins, 12 Ast. Theo. lectures, 25 Age Reason, 6 Syntarmo, 12 Vestiges, 20 Rights of Man, 20 Common Sense.

Since Ellery had been selling such books for several years, it is safe to generalize that eighteenth and nineteenth century writers on deism and science had a following in San Francisco.

Ellery's Antiquarian Bookstore also had a circulating library, and some works on California. Of the latter, Bancroft wrote that in the year 1859 he "examined . . . thoroughly the stocks of Ellery, Carrie & Damon,[156] and the Noisy Carrier, and purchased one copy each of all the books, pamphlets, magazines, and pictures on the subject" to enlarge his personal collection concerning the history of the state.[157]

Other specialty bookshops served San Francisco readers intelligently.[158] We see in the *Bulletin* of April 12, 1856, that Charles Carl, the new owner of Stationers' Hall,[159] added legal, scientific, and medical works to his shelves, which were mainly devoted to paper and blank books. Allen & Spier (successors to Allen & Co. as owners of the Union Book Store)[160] hoped to attract Protestant readers by specifying the following titles in the *Pacific* of June 2, 1859: *The Power of Prayer* by Samuel I. Prime, Murdock's translation of the Syriac *New Testament*, Mosheim's *Church History*, N. W. Taylor's *Practical Sermons*, Armstrong's *Theology of Christian Experience*, and Charles H. Spurgeon's *Gems*. There were also general and current books in stock, such as J. C. Hamilton's *History of the Republic of the United States*, George Henry Lewes' *Biographical History of Philosophy*, William Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, and Duff's *The Indian Rebellion* (an account of the revolt of the Bengal sepoys and others). In 1856, Michael Flood began to sell books especially for Roman Catholics.[161] During 1856, as we have noticed, Valentine & Co. sold works concerning spiritualism (a fad of the day), and advertised them weekly in the *Wide West*, which, itself, announced on January 11, 1857, its stock of books on that topic. Lest we think that San Franciscans were any more interested in communicating with the dead than other people, we must remember that at this very time Elizabeth Barrett Browning was deeply interested in Daniel Douglas Home ("Mr. Sludge, 'The Medium' ").

In September 1858, Anton Roman moved from Shasta City to San Francisco, where by the tenth, according to the *Alta*, he sold books at auction. We read of one of his auctions in the *Bulletin* of October 1, 1858: "Commencing Sep. 30 at 10 o'clock . . . upwards of 20,000 volumes of Standard and Miscellaneous Books. Just received per 'Europa' and 'Anglo Saxon' to be sold without reserve. Evening sales this week." Early in 1859, he encouraged California's literary life by publishing the *Overland Monthly* and several books by westerners. In 1860 appeared his *Catalogue of Books* (similar to earlier lists) of seventy-one pages, in which he designated his standard and current stock under sixteen general headings.[162]

Hutchings & Rosenfield was organized in 1856 to sell books and publish a literary monthly, *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine.*[163] We learn from James M. Hutchings' manuscript journal (now in the Library of Congress) that in 1855 he had traveled throughout northern California. He visited most of the mining camps, talked to many intelligent men, and sketched and published on letter sheets views of the towns and scenery. Since he knew intimately the tastes of Californians, he was prepared to manage a bookstore and edit a magazine. To aid people in selecting reading matter, the magazine regularly printed brief reviews of current books, such as Irving's *Life of Washington*, L. D. Bonner's *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckworth*, Gabriel Ferry's *Vagabond Life in Mexico*, R. A. Wilson's *Mexico and its Religion*, Eliza Farnham's *California, In-Doors and Out*, William A. Scott's *The Giant Judge*, and Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth's *India, the Pearl of Pearl River*. Indicative of the general stock at the store, we read in the *Illustrated California Magazine* for March 1858, the following notice:

> Those who want BOOKS . . . LETTER PAPER . . . WRITING MATERIALS of any kind . . . PAPERS by the Steamer . . . VIEWS OF CALIFORNIA SCENERY . . . ASSORTED PAPERS to amuse them on a voyage or cruise, when going home, or anywhere else . . . Illustrated LETTER-SHEETS to send home; MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS . . . POCKET KNIVES . . . PAPER CUTTERS . . . NOVELS, or those who want to . . . subscribe . . . to HUTCHINGS' CALIFORNIA MAGAZINE . . . or want anything, generally kept in a BOOK AND STATIONERY STORE, are invited to call and see us. . . .
>
> HUTCHINGS & ROSENFIELD

The practices of this firm once more illustrate the close connection between book dealers and publishers in the state at that time: in 1857 the most significant work printed in Hutchings' magazine was J. D. Borthwick's "Three Years in California"; in the same year it was published in book form in Edinburgh; now it is a classic in its field.

In 1858 Henry Payot, a dealer in French books,[164] reprinted an edition of Pierre Béranger's *Dernières Chansons*, a testimony to the tastes of readers of French in California. During 1858 the five dealers in foreign books, in addition to Payot, were Massey, Schleiden, E. Viot, Theofrede Pons, and W. F. Herre;[165] but by 1859 (we learn from the San Francisco *Directory*) only two of these, Payot's and Massey's (purchased by F. Biesta),[166] remained in business. However, H. Mendheim had founded a new store to sell German books.[167]

Most of the books and pamphlets by Californians were issued by printing firms in San Francisco or by publishers in New York, rather than by San Francisco bookstores. For instance, in 1857 Edward McGowan published privately *The Narrative of Edward McGowan*, an account of the Vigilance Committee and his escape from it. That year the printing firm of Whitton, Towne, & Co. (later, Towne & Bacon) issued *The Giant Judge: or, the Story of Samson, the Hebrew Hercules*, by the Rev. Mr. W. A. Scott of Calvary Presbyterian Church of San Francisco,[168] and in 1859 the same firm printed *A Synopsis of Jewish History from the Return of the Jews from the Babylonish Captivity, to the Days of Herod the Great*, by Rabbi H. H. Henry of Congregation Sherith Israel in San Francisco. Indicative of interest in county history is the publication of Isaac Cox's *The Annals of Trinity County* in 1858 by the Commercial Book and Job Steam printing establishment of San Francisco. Each year during the late 1850's the Society of California Pioneers published its annual oration, commemorating the admission of the state to the union. Among the books by Californians published in New York were: George Derby's *Phoenixiana* (1856), containing his Thurberish sketches from California periodicals, and now justifiably a collector's item; the second edition of John Hittell's *The Evidences against Christianity* (1857), which aroused numerous protests and made Hittell an anti-Christ for a time, and his *A New System of Phrenology* (1857), which the public ignored; W. A. Scott's *Trade and Letters* (1856), scholarly lectures addressed to members of the San Francisco Mercantile Library; Mrs. Eliza Farnham's *California, In-Doors and Out* (1856), the trying experiences of an emancipated woman on her way to the state and at her farm near Santa Cruz; William Taylor's *Seven Years Street Preaching* (1857), and his *California Life Illustrated* (1858), both of them so successful that they went through several editions.

Despite the well-organized book trade in San Francisco, eastern and European speculators continued to send consignments of books to the port. Consequently, H. A. Cobb (in addition to Roman) announced regularly in the *Alta* after April 11, 1857, that catalogues were issued for his auctions of standard books in English, French, and Spanish.

In the Sacramento *Union* of May 7, 1856, and in successive issues, James Anthony & Co., 21 J St., Sacramento, advertised, with a column of laudatory opinions expressed by members of the press, "*Old Block's Sketch Book; or Tales of California Life*, Profusely Illustrated with gems from the pencil of Nahl, The Cruikshank of California. New Work by author of 'Chips of the Old Block.'" It was priced at $1.00. Some of the older book firms of Sacramento went out of business between 1856 and 1860; the important point for readers, however, was that the remaining ones (eight at the beginning of 1859)[169] continued to import both new and older books. Good examples of this state of affairs are found in the files of the *Union*. On December

21, 1858, it summarizes Thomas W. Atkinson's *A Visit to Siberia,* because "it is too expensive for the general public." This paper states on December 21, 1858, that copies of *The Courtship of Miles Standish* (1858) had arrived, and on February 28, 1859, that Taylor's *California Life Illustrated* was at Murphy's bookstore. That year John J. Murphy published *The Protégé,* a poem by William Bausman. Advertisements on December 15 and 24, 1858, and on January 1, 1859, announce that George H. Lovegrove had "all the Standard Poets," and that E. B. Davidson's Circulating Library had "a large collection of works, consisting of Histories, Travels, Poems, Narratives, Miscellaneous Works, Novels, etc. at cheap rates."[170] At least four bookstores in Sacramento remained in business after the beginning of 1860.

At Stockton Rosenbaum & Van Allen said that its new books included *Little Dorrit,* Lever's *The Fortunes of Glencore,* and Hugh Miller's geological study *The Testimony of the Rocks*—all first published in 1857.[171] When the store was later owned by L. C. Van Allen, he advertised such current works as *The Idylls of the King* (1859), Bayard Taylor's *Travels in Greece and Russia* (1859), Richard Henry Dana's *To Cuba and Back* (1859), and J. S. C. Abbott's *The French Revolution* (1859).[172] Meanwhile, Kierski & Brother listed titles or used such phrases as "Books at half the former prices," and "We are ready to sell books at New York and Philadelphia trade sale prices."[173] On December 15, 1858, Strout & Sargent announced an auction thus: "Invoices from all the leading publishing houses in the Atlantic States, and embracing History, Explorations, Adventures, Theology, The Drama, Essays, Biography, Travels, Religion, Bibles, Poetry, Fiction, Belles Lettres, Domestic and Political Economy, Arts and Sciences, Natural History." If eastern publishers were dumping stock (as appears to be the case), the unwanted books, in this instance, would go to the southern mines.

The Marysville *Directory* of 1857 and the *Daily News* of February 24, 1858, include advertisements for the important bookshops owned by Gustave Amy and by H. Wagner.[174] Amy listed George Bancroft's *History of the United States,* and declared that he had "5,000 new novels by all the latest authors."[175] A few pages in the diary of Charles DeLong of New York, a virtually illiterate youth when he went to California in 1855, illustrate how such a man, when he decided to become a lawyer, began to acquire his personal collection of books at Marysville as he proceeded in his self-education. He wrote on November 10, 1859, that he was discussing his future library with his fiancée, and on January 25, 1860: "Bought some books of Wagner. Paid him $87.50 for them. This shall be the foundation of a fine library."[176]

In the mining regions of the state, the modified economic conditions and the shifting of population about the beginning of 1856 caused the expansion of the book trade into a few communities where there had not been bookstores formerly. Eureka, a new trading center for miners and farmers on the coast north of San Francisco, is a good example. A. J. Block & Co.'s general store advertised thus in the *Humboldt Times* of May 24, 1857:

> *The World of Art & Industry*, illustrated; Bibles; Mosheim's *Church History;* Cook's *Voyages;* Frost's *Pictorial Hist. of Roman Empire, Greece, Rome and England;* Josephus, Complete Works; Buffon's *Natural History;* Wilson's *United States;* [George] Bancroft's *Life of Washington; Lives of the Presidents;* Rollin's *Ancient History;* Millman's Gibbon's *Rome.*

Another dealer in Eureka announced his stock of miscellaneous books in the *Humboldt Times* of May 9, 1857. Since these notices had appeared just before Bret Harte, still a youth, arrived at Uniontown (now Arcata), only a few miles away, the list is especially noteworthy. We do not know whether he patronized these stores, but the books listed are similar to the expository works which, late in 1857, he found interesting and felt he should read instead of novels: Irving's *Life of Washington,* Prescott's *The Conquest of Peru,* and *Dr. Kane's Voyage* (an account of Arctic explorations).[177]

A. T. Langton of Downieville, who had not been specific for two or three years, asserted in the *Sierra Democrat* of December 18, 1858, and of April 2, 1859, that he had added a circulating library to his bookstore, to lend works of history, science, theology, and fiction for one dollar a month — "Opportunity for all on the long winter evenings." On December 11, 1858, he had announced a clearance sale, which we can imagine was also a social event of the season: "Ladies wishing to attend the sale will be accommodated with seats on the piazza of the Virginia Hotel."[178]

J. E. Hamlin's advertisement in the Nevada City *Democrat* of August 20, 1856, mentions *Hiawatha* (1855) and Mortimer N. Thomson's *Plu-Ri-Bus-Tah* (a humorous poem, published in 1856). The notice of February 17, 1857, illustrated the type of books readers could buy or rent at his store:

> Books for the Million. To be sold Wholesale and Retail. Law, Medical, Historical, Poetical, Miscellaneous, Masonic Works, Catholic, Piety, and School Books of every variety. Gift Books. Cheap Publications. A Circulating Library of 1,000 volumes, new and in good order. As good an assortment as can be found this side of San Francisco.

The phrase "Books for the Million" shows that Hamlin expected to attract a variety of readers, and for them he had special works as well as fiction.[179]

Hamlin's competitors in Nevada City and the surrounding towns were also going after trade vigorously. In the *Democrat* of February 18, 1857, we see rather startling words: "Hurrah for the Dromedary Line!! The first train has just arrived with more new Books & Stationary [*sic*], consigned to G. W. Welch, Dealer in all kinds of Blank Books and Stationery, Standard and Miscellaneous Books, Music and Musical Instruments. Pioneer Book Store!!" Apparently, this was the only trip the camel caravan made to Nevada City, for no other records of the line seem to be preserved.[180] According to the *Nevada, Grass Valley, and Rough and Ready Directory* for 1856, other competitors of these stores were M. Michelsen's Nevada Literary Depot (worth

$2,000, when it burned in July),[181] and E. A. Kendall & W. R. Spencer's Book and Music Emporium in Grass Valley.[182] Cohn's bookstore in North San Juan (near Nevada City) claimed in the *Hydraulic Press* of October 16, 1858, that it had a "Large Stock just in from San Francisco . . . The Largest stock in the mountains." And on December eighteen, Franchère (a friend of Benjamin Parke Avery, the newspaper editor in that town)[183] attracted the attention of blasé readers in this wise: "He has on hand a heavy lot of light literature and yellow covers for blue stockings. For those persons who are hard to please he keeps blank books, which they can fill up to suit themselves." At Auburn in 1856, M. Oberdeener owned a bookshop which sold historical, poetical, and miscellaneous books; and, in 1858, Samuel W. Morrell bought out Hanson's Drug & Book Store in that town.[184]

At Weaverville in the Trinity Mountains, R. A. Fagg announced in the *Trinity Journal* of July 18, 1857, that his store had received a new supply of books, drugs, and toys; the books included works of "History, Literature, Science & Art, Romance, Poetry, School Books, Belles Lettres, Music, Philosophy, Drama, Bibles and Prayer Books, Toy books for children, the Latest Novels & Periodicals. . . ." One of Fagg's customers was Franklin Buck of Maine, who secured a copy of *Adam Bede* (1859) by October 29 of that year.[185] Meanwhile, as we learn from the *Trinity Journal* of May 15, 1858, H. W. Anderson & H. J. Seaman sold books at their drug store in Weaverville; a week later (May 22) they specified the following (in this order): Chamber's *Information for the People;* Abbott's *Life of Napoleon; Napoleon at St. Helena; Memoirs of Napoleon, His Court and Family;* Scott's *Napoleon; Universal History of the World;* Macaulay's *History of England,* Gibbon's *Rome,* Rollin's *Ancient History; Napoleon Dynasty;* Frost's *History of the United States;* Murday's *History of the United States;* Webster's *Dictionary* (unabridged); Squier's *Notes on Central America, Universal Library of Literature — Illustrated; The Heroines of Shakespeare;* and *Mabel Vaughan* (a recent novel, widely advertised at that time).[186] On November 27, 1858, this firm advertised another list of books, including Thiers' *History of the French Revolution* and Lyell's works on geology; and on February 11, 1860, Seaman (sole owner of the store) announced such books as Lamartine's *French Revolution,* De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America,* and *Arctic Explorations.* Instead of decreasing in Weaverville, the book trade increased, for M. Oberdeener (formerly of Auburn) advertised thus on June 23, 1860: "The undersigned informs the people of Trinity County that he has opened a Book and Stationery Store in this place, where he offers for sale everything in that line kept in a good San Francisco Book Store." The literary tone of this newspaper suggests that the residents of Trinity County at that time were willing to support three bookstores.

We read in the San Andreas *Independent* of October 24, 1857, that H.

Wolfstein sold books at Angel's Camp. That was seven years before Mark Twain spent a winter near by. W. Sharp & Co. stated in the same paper on July 16, 1859, that their book and drug store had a circulating library. Apparently it was the first business of that type in San Andreas. There was a drug and variety store at Monte Cristo (a very small camp near Downieville) selling books in 1857,[187] another indication of how widely books were distributed throughout California at the close of this decade. We also know that such was the state of affairs from the fact that at this time pictures of Coloma,[188] Jackson,[189] Placerville,[190] and La Porte[191] were published by bookdealers.

Since by 1856 the average daily wage for a miner in the state was no more than three dollars,[192] it is important to recognize that at about that time the prices of books fell, making it possible for such men as Obed Wilson of Maine and his friends (who lived beyond Downieville) to afford them.[193] For instance, at Shasta City Schlesinger's Literary Depot, which had a circulating library of English, French, and German publications, declared in the *Courier* of January 5, 1856, that its stock would be sold for "less than 100% profit." Anton Roman, who, as we have seen, owned stores at Shasta City and Yreka[194] before he moved to San Francisco, announced in the *Courier* of January 22, 1856, that his rates were lower than ever before.

As miners moved from place to place, the booksellers also departed. For instance, in 1858 Roman left Shasta City to become a dealer in San Francisco. The *Butte Record* of July 19, 1856, shows that, when the townspeople abandoned Bidwell for the newer settlement of Oroville, H. Keefer, the book dealer and editor of that paper, moved his store and printing office to the new county seat.

In the agricultural regions of the state, where a few of the old towns were growing slowly and where several new ones were being built, readers could buy books more easily after 1856 than formerly. An advertisement for the Post Office News Depot, in the *Weekly Journal and Sonoma County Advertiser* of Petaluma of September 4, 1857, began with the words "Reading for the Many." Following a list of books for farmers (*Rural Essays* by Andrew J. Downing, *The Farmer's Every Day Book*, *The Young Gardener's Assistant*, and fourteen others), the notice continued:

> Poems of Montgomery, Moore, Scott, Cowper, Byron, Hemans, Landon, Willis, Wardsworth [*sic*], Coleridge, Tupper, Burns, Goldsmith, Howitt, Cook, Crabbe, Henry Kirke White, Shelley, Thomson, Shakespeare's, Bulwer's, Marryat's, Hume's, Gibbon's, Macaulay's, Dick's, Dickens', Lippard's, Reynolds', Cooper's, Smollett's, James', Charles Lever's, Eugene Sue's, Alexander Dumas', and Andrew Jackson Davis's Works. Josephus and hundreds more.

This list of standard and contemporary poets, novelists, and historians shows how amply an inquiring mind could satisfy its appetite, in the late 1850's, in a farming town with approximately 3,500 inhabitants. At the same time, S. C.

Haydon[195] and S. H. Wagener also owned book and drug stores in Petaluma. When Smith D. Towne purchased Haydon's store, Towne added the following new books to his shelves: Horace Greeley's *The Life of Henry Clay*, Bayard Taylor's *Travels* (the region of the world unspecified), and an anonymous *Characteristics of Women.*[196]

According to the *Solano County Herald* of June 14, 1856, two stores at Benicia – one owned by J. W. Jones and the other by S. C. Gray, a general merchant – sold books in English and Spanish, especially for the use of schools in that town. In the new town of Santa Rosa, Ellis & Brother established a bookstore with branch stores at Healdsburg and Sonoma,[197] and across the bay from San Francisco, in 1858, W. B. Hardy founded a bookshop in Oakland.[198] South of San Francisco, at San Jose, A. A. Massey[199] offered to prospective purchasers works in English, French, Spanish, and Italian; while Lowey Brothers & Birgham had a circulating library and "miscellaneous and standard works" for sale.[200] We learn from the *Star* of January 1, 1859, that Hillman & Co. (general merchandisers) and Ducommun's jewelry store sold and rented books at Los Angeles. Apparently no merchants in Santa Barbara stocked books, but W. Schleiden of San Francisco desired the trade of that old Spanish town by advertising regularly after November 1, 1855, in *La Gaceta* and the *Gazette* (after it changed to an English language newspaper) thus: "20,000 Tomos de Libros en Español, Yngles, Français, Italiano, y Aleman. Sobre todos los ramonos de la literatura."

The office of the *California Farmer* advertised books for sale to its readers, and asserted on January 8, 1858, that it had the "Popular Publications from the Press of J. B. Lippincott & Co." In addition to technical works on scientific agriculture, this journal specified such volumes as Cleveland's *Compendium of English Literature; English Literature of the Nineteenth Century; American Literature;* and Thomas Dick's astronomical and theological works. In a reflective mood, the editor wrote on February 19, 1858, "We do not believe that there is a spot in the wide world where there is so much reading matter sold 'per capita' as there is in California." Perhaps it was naïve and boastful to say this about a gangling youngster only eight summers old politically. But it was the state's recency that gave weight to the *California Farmer's* sweeping comment; and had the editor said, "so youthful a spot in the wide world," there would have been no taint of boasting, no blush of naïvete. In fact, two years later, the U. S. census placed California fifth among the states of the Union on the basis of number of bookstores.[201]

Summary. – During the 1850's, well over one hundred firms in California, from Yreka in the north to Los Angeles in the south, sold books. The number of advertisements for bookstores is, in itself, impressive. The trade began unmethodically; dealers in the eastern states simply wished to speculate. In the later years of the decade, more and more varied types of books arrived in San Francisco and were sent to the chief towns of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, to the mining region, and, gradually, to the agricultural districts. Because of the nature of the express business on the west coast, readers could send to San Francisco, Sacramento, Marysville, or Stockton for the books they chose to buy. The fact that when the business was well established in the state, certain dealers went to the east for the specific purpose of buying stock, shows that the reading tastes of Californians—their increased urbanity—were taken into consideration by the dealers as well as increased profits for the trade. And when, early in 1850, book dealers in California became linked with the publishing business, financial support for the beginnings of literary expression in the far west was at hand.

NOTES

141. *California Chronicle,* Feb. 13, 1856.

142. *Herald,* Feb. 3 and 6, 1856.

143. *Wide West,* April 6, 1856, shows that W. W. Kurtz & Co. owned the paper. Bonestell wrote of Williston: "He had real ability as an editor but lacked business sagacity and soon ran us hopelessly in debt" (*op. cit.,* p. 131). Williston went to Victoria, where he was one of the founders of the *Gazette* in 1857.

144. Bancroft, *Literary Industries, op. cit.,* p. 141. Bancroft stated that eastern dealers sent too many consignments of books to San Francisco; records of book auctions confirm this statement.

145. *Ibid.,* pp. 146-47. In *Financing an Empire* (Chicago and San Francisco, 1927), I, 195-96, Ira B. Cross discusses the huge quantities of goods sent to the state, the decline in the production of gold, the falling off of property values, and the failures of large and small firms during 1854 and 1855; he writes, "the wreckage extended . . . to many . . . lines of business, and was spread over" 1855-1857.

146. A restless man, Still moved his store frequently, sold periodicals in New York for a time, but returned to San Francisco eventually; *see* Chambers (note 12 above), *passim;* and *Bulletin,* Jan. 7, 1861. Still regularly used the motto: "First Established in Sep. 1849."

147. Other books "for the People" listed on June 7, 1857, included Thackeray's *The Newcomes,* Reade's *Christie Johnstone,* Smucker's *History of the Mormons,* Frost's *Wild Scenes of a Hunter's Life,* W. H. Herbert's *Oliver Cromwell,* Ruth Parton's ("Fanny Fern's") *Rose Clark,* Mayne Reid's *The Hunter's Feast,* and Fredrika Bremer's *Homes in the New World.*

148. George R. Stewart, *John Phoenix, Esq.* (New York, 1937), p. 210, discusses the bibliographical problems of *Phoenixiana.*

149. Thomas M. Hibben withdrew from the firm on April 5, 1858. *Alta,* April 8. An example of Kimball's sensational advertising is seen in the following lines, printed in the *Alta,* June 6, 1859:

Would you read a Romance thrilling
Full of deeds of blood and crimes?
Would you read a Story pleasing,
Full of truths the most sublime?

. . . . .

Would you read of daughter butchered
By a father to her dear?

. . . . .

Would you read of women pretty,
Torn by ugly lion's paws?
Would you read a History ancient,
Commencing with the Earliest man?
Would you read of kings most God-like,
Cutting men with saws of iron?
Would you, (and of course you ought to,)
Read all these and many more?
Then buy of US a nice good Bible;
Take it home and read it o'er.

150. Kimball's stores were on Long Wharf and on Commercial Street; *see* Bryant, *op. cit.,* p. 78. In 1856, Kimball issued a pirated edition of *Hard Times.*

151. Bancroft, *Literary Industries, op. cit.,* pp. 147 ff.

152. *See* especially *Bulletin,* Dec. 30, 1858; and *Pacific,* June 23, 1859. In notices, Bancroft emphasized the publications of Derby & Jackson.

153. Bancroft, *idem,* pp. 173 ff.

154. Ellery advertised, *Bulletin,* April 1, 1856: "Antiquarian Bookstore, 162 Washington St. New and Second Hand Books bought and sold or exchanged on liberal terms. Always on hand a great variety of books on all subjects – some very rare." He advertised his circulating library in the *Wide West* on May 12, 1856, and his books on spiritualism on Feb. 8, 1857.

155. Andrew or George Combe; the letter does not specify.

156. Joseph A. Carrie & James E. Damon advertised in *Wide West* on April 6, 1856. Later, Damon purchased the stock. *Alta,* June 27, 1858. By 1860, the firm was again Carrie & Damon.

157. Bancroft, *idem,* p. 175.

158. McGlashan advertised in the *California Farmer,* Feb. 26, 1858; for his closing out sale, see *Alta,* April 1, 1858. C. W. Tyler purchased the stock, and advertised in the *Bulletin,* Oct. 1, 1858, that he had 100,000 volumes of standard and miscellaneous works in stock. The *Alta* of Jan. 1, 1859, shows that the store was owned by J. G. Gilchrist, McGlashan's earlier associate. For a store owned by E. J. Muygridge, see *Bulletin,* Dec. 22, 1859. Several stores not discussed are listed in the *Directories.* Muygridge is not to be confused with Muybridge, author of *Man in Motion,* etc.

159. *See also* the *California Chronicle,* Jan. 22, 1856. Carl purchased the store from Samuel Webb.

160. *See also* the *Bulletin,* Dec. 30, 1858, for a list of books, including *The Courtship of Miles Standish* and Swedenborgian works; and *idem,* Dec. 23, 1859, for lists of standard works.

161. Sanford Chase Baker, of Woodstock, New Brunswick (my grandfather), who

came to California in 1854, owned *El Nuevo Testamento de Nuestro Señor y Salvador Jesu-Christo . . . por El Exmo. Sr. Dn. Felix Torres Amat, Obispo de Astorga. Lleva Añadidas Algunas Notas Tomadas Del P. Scio y Otros Calificados Interpretes con la Aprobacion del Ilmo. Fr. José S. Alemany, Obispo de Monterey, California. Primera Edicion Conforme à la Segunda del Obispo Amat. Nueva York: Eduardo Dunigan y Hermano, Calle de Fulton, no. 151, 1854.* This Spanish edition of *The Bible* (now owned by Miss Amy Baker of Biggs, California) suggests the close relationships in the book trade between New York and San Francisco for Catholics and others who wished to learn Spanish.

162. The headings are: History; Biography; Belles-Lettres, Essays and Standard Classics; Theology, Religion and Sacred Classics; Poetry and Drama; Standard Fiction; Science, Art, and Natural History; Architecture and Agriculture; Dictionaries, Encyclopedias, &, &; Voyages and Travels; Miscellaneous; Medical; School and Collegiate Text Books; English Publications; and List of New Books.

163. A picture of the store appears in *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine,* I (Aug. 1857).

164. See *Le Phare,* Jan. 3 and 8, 1856; Vincent left the firm at this time. *See also* note 90 above; from the Payot papers, cited therein, we learn that Henry Payot died in 1921 at the age of 83. In the 1860's he formed the noted firm of Payot, Upham & Co., at one time agents for the McGuffy *Readers,* and, later, stationery wholesalers.

165. See *Le Phare,* Jan. 3, 1856, and the *Directories.* Schleiden advertised in the *California Chronicle,* Nov. 21, 1857; and in the *California Farmer,* Jan. 15, 1858. Negbaur & Co. advertised in the *Bulletin,* April 1, 1856, but went out of business shortly thereafter. Pons & Viot were bookbinders in 1856.

166. Biesta was the consul for Sardinia in 1854.

167. *Directory,* 1859.

168. For an interesting article on Scott, *see* John B. Astles, "Rev. Dr. W. A. Scott, Southern Sympathizer," this Quarterly, XXVII (June 1948), 149-56.

169. The *San Francisco Almanac* for 1859 lists Backus & Co.; Kirk & Co.; E. B. Davidson; Carswell & Co.; J. Bithell; Dale & Co.; G. H. Lovegrove; and A. Coolot. A view of Sacramento (1857) shows the bookstores owned by Bithell and by E. F. Griggs. Bithell came from New York; Carswell, from Scotland.

170. "Cheap rates," we learn from an advertisement of Davidson's store, were 25c for each book loaned out. *California Farmer,* April 23, 1858.

171. San Joaquin *Republican,* Jan. 1, 1858.

172. *Ibid.,* Sept. 18, 1859.

173. *Ibid.,* Jan. 1, Sept. 3, and Dec. 17, 1859.

174. The *San Francisco Almanac* for 1859 lists D. Bonheim and Randall & Co. as owners of bookstores.

175. Marysville *Herald,* Aug. 6, 1856.

176. Charles E. De Long, "California's Bantam Cock," Carl I. Wheat, *ed.,* this Quarterly, X (Sept. 1931), p. 246.

177. George R. Stewart, *Bret Harte, Argonaut and Exile* (New York, 1931), p. 66.

178. For additional indications of the book trade in Downieville, see also advertisements for Stacy & Grant's bookstore in the *Sierra Citizen,* Aug. 15, 1857; for John W. O'Rear's bookstore, *Sierra Democrat,* June 26, 1858; and for Arm's Mountain News Deposit, *Sierra Citizen,* March 19, 1859. Probably these advertisements are for one store with three different owners; Langton had at least one competitor during these years.

179. Hamlin was the successor to Stiles (*see* note 118 above).

180. For the use of camels in California, *see* A. A. Gray, "Camels in California," this

QUARTERLY, IX (Dec. 1930), 299-317; and H. D. Fowler, *Camels to California* (Stanford, Cal., 1950).

181. Nevada *Democrat,* Aug. 20, 1856. The Nevada Literary Depot had "all the Principal and latest Standard Works, of History, Travels, Poetry, Romance, Etc. . . . Musical Instruments," and a circulating library.

182. Kendall & Spencer's store advertised "Cheap Publications and Novels at New York Prices. Standard Works of History, Travels, Poetry, Romance, etc., School Books, Newspaper Files, Portfolios," and announced that the firm was "fully supplied with the latest dates of United States and European Journals, French, German, and Spanish Papers, Ballou's *Pictorial, Illustrated London News,* Magazines, Periodicals, etc." *Nevada, Grass Valley, and Rough and Ready Directory* for 1856 (San Francisco, 1856). In 1858, Spencer, sole owner of the bookstore, published a view of Grass Valley.

183. Ernest R. May, "Benjamin Parke Avery," this QUARTERLY, XXX (June 1951), p. 126.

184. *Placer Press,* May 31 and Sept. 12, 1856; Feb. 20, 1858, and March 5, 1859. The *Placer Herald* of Feb. 7, 1857, reported that Winn's bookstore at Iowa Hill had burned.

185. Buck, *op. cit.,* p. 179.

186. On May 8, 1858, the *Trinity Journal* said that *Mabel Vaughan* (a recent novel by Maria S. Cumming) "had been issued in San Francisco, which the Sacramento *Union* pronounces good."

187. *Sierra Citizen,* Aug. 15, 1857.

188. J. M. Clark published a view of Coloma in 1857, showing a picture of his store.

189. Wesley Jackson published a view of Jackson in 1857, showing a picture of his store.

190. Davis & Roy published a view of Placerville in 1856, showing a picture of their store.

191. Dr. E. L. Willard published a picture of Main Street, La Porte, about 1858. Although the drawing is crude, the picture shows a sign board on the front of Willard's store; one side of the store seems to be devoted to books, the other to druggists' supplies; thus we see an exterior and interior view of the store at the same time.

192. Rodman Paul, *California Gold* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), p. 120. In 1848, the daily average was $20; in 1850, $10; and in 1852, $6.

193. Wilson, *op. cit.,* pp. 148, 181-84, and 213.

194. Roman published a view of Shasta in 1856, showing a picture of his store in the Callaghan Block; and that year Roman & Bro. published a view of Yreka.

195. Haydon published a view of Petaluma with a picture of his book and drug store in 1857.

196. *Sonoma County Journal,* Sept. 2, 1859.

197. *Sonoma County Democrat,* Oct. 22, 1857.

198. Oakland *Tribune,* July 7, 1944.

199. San Jose *Tribune,* May 22, 1857.

200. *Idem.* The San Jose *Telegraph,* Jan. 27, 1858, had an advertisement for the Catholic Book Store; and on Oct. 15, 1859, for A. Waldteufel as owner of this store. Lowey Bros. & Birgham became Lowey Bros. in 1859.

201. According to the census of 1860, New York had 453 bookstores; Pennsylvania, 249; Massachusetts, 146; and Ohio, 143. Each of these states had a *total white* population of over a million. California, with a *total* population of about 358,000, had 62 bookstores; Illinois had 61; Maine, 60; Maryland, 51; Indiana, 49; Virginia, 44; New Hampshire, 42; Connecticut, 41; Kentucky, 40; Michigan, 39; and Wisconsin, 38. All of these states, except New Hampshire, had a larger *total white* population than did California.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BAEGERT, JOHANN JACOB
Observations in Lower California. Tr. by Magda M. Brandenburg and Carl L. Baumann. Berkeley, University of California, 1951. 260 p. illus. $5.00.

BOTKIN, B. A., ed.
A Treasury of Western Folklore. N. Y., Crown, 1951. xxvi, 806 p. $4.00.

BURT, OLIVE (WOOLLEY)
Jedediah Smith, Fur Trapper of the Old West. N. Y., Messner, 1951. 187 p. illus. $2.75.

COULTER, THOMAS
Notes on Upper California; a Journey from Monterey to the Colorado River in 1832. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1951. 40 p. front., map. $5.00.

CURRO, EVELYN
Evelyn Curro's Second Annual Americana Calendar. N. Y., Farrar, 1951. 12 p. illus. $1.50.

CURTIS, HAL
Starr King, Patriot and Mason. San Francisco, Crane Printing Co., 1951. 43 p. illus. [Printed for private distribution]

DYE, JOB
Recollections of a Pioneer, 1830-1852; Rocky Mountains, New Mexico, California. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1951. 80 p. illus. $5.00.

FURNAS, JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN
Voyage to Windward; the Life of Robert Louis Stevenson. N. Y., Sloane, 1951. x, 566 p. illus. $5.00.

HARLAN, GEORGE W., and CLEMENT FISHER, JR.
Of Walking Beams and Paddle Wheels; a Chronicle of San Francisco Bay Ferryboats. San Francisco, Bay Books Limited, 1951. xv, 157 [4] p. illus. $4.50.

HEIZER, R. F., and M. A. WHIPPLE
The California Indians; a Source Book. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951. 484 p. illus., maps. $6.50.

HENDERSON, RANDALL
Wild Palms of the California Desert. Palm Springs, Desert Magazine [1951] 32 p. illus. 50 cents.

HOOVER, HERBERT CLARK
The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover; Years of Adventure, 1874-1920. N. Y., Macmillan, 1951. xi, 842 p. illus. $4.00.

KRAUS, HENRY
In the City [San Pedro] Was a Garden; a Housing Project Chronicle. N. Y., Renaissance Press, 1951. 255 p. $3.00.

LEWIS, OSCAR
The Lost Years; a Biographical Fantasy. N. Y., Knopf, 1951. 121 p. illus. $2.50.

M'Ilvaine, William, Jr.
Sketches of Scenery and Notes of Personal Adventure in California & Mexico. San Francisco, The Book Club of California, 1951. ix, 78 p. illus. $16.50.

Meadows, Don
Baja California; a Biblio-History, 1533-1950. Los Angeles, Glen Dawson, 1951. 32 p. $5.00.

[Metropolitan Life Insurance Company]
Fiftieth Anniversary of Metropolitan's Pacific Coast Head Office, 1901-1951. [n.p., 1951] 32 p. illus. Apply to company.

[Mike Roberts Color Productions]
The California Mission Story. [Berkeley, c1951] 24 p. illus. 75 cents.

Mitchell, Mrs. C. H.
California; From the Plains of the Pioneers to the Summit of Achievement. Oakland, Oakland Tribune Press, 1951. 88 p. illus. $3.00.

O'Brien, Robert
California Called Them; a Saga of Golden Days and Roaring Camps. N. Y., McGraw-Hill [c1951] xv, 251 p. illus. $4.00.

Peck, W. Harold
California National Guard; Brief History of Woodland Unit, 1863-1951. [Woodland] The Record of Yolo County, 1951. 30 [3] p. illus. 50 cents.

Pfeiffer, Ida (Reyer)
A Lady's Visit to California, 1853. Oakland, Biobooks, 1951. [7] 75 p. illus. $6.50.

Pfleuger, Donald
Glendora; the Annals of a Southern California Community. Claremont, Saunders Press, 1951. 262 p. illus., port. $5.00.

Roos, Ann
Royal Road; Father Serra and the California Missions . . . Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1951. x, 243 p. $2.75.

Stewart, George R., and Edwin S. Fussell, eds.
San Francisco in 1866, by Bret Harte; Being Letters to the *Springfield Republican.* San Francisco, The Book Club of California, 1951. x, 88 p. illus. $7.50.

Who's Who on the Pacific Coast . . . Chicago, A. N. Marquis Company [c1951] 832 p. $15.00.

Writers' Program. California
Los Angeles; a Guide to the City and Its Environs . . . N. Y., Hastings House [1951] liv, 441 p. illus., maps. [2nd ed.] $5.00.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

September 1, 1951, to December 1, 1951

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. HARRY W. ABRAHAMS, San Francisco – *California Blue Book,* 1907, 1909, 1913-15, 1924, 1928, and 1932; and Hichborn, Franklin. *Story of the Session of the California Legislature of 1921.* San Francisco, 1922.

From MRS. ELMA P. ACHESON, Folsom – Eldorado County Board of Education. *Manual of the Public Schools of Eldorado County* ... Placerville, 1887; 1889.

From MRS. MILDRED BAIRD, Santa Cruz – McCrackin, Josephine Clifford. *The Woman Who Lost Him; and Tales of the Army Frontier.* Pasadena, 1913; and McGlashan, Charles F. *History of the Donner Party* ... Sacramento, 1907 [author's presentation copy to the daughter of Patty Reed]

From MR. L. BURR BELDEN, San Bernardino – *San Bernardino City Directory, 1914-15* ... Los Angeles, c1914; [San Bernardino County Historical Society and the San Bernardino Art Association] *Pageant; a Collection of Historical Paintings.* [San Bernardino, 1951?]; and San Bernardino Free Public Library. *Annual Report ... 1949-50* [San Bernardino, 1950]

From MISS ESTO BATES BROUGHTON, Modesto – The Modesto Bank. *Forty-Nine Years in Stanislaus County; the Modesto Bank, 1873-1922.* [n.p., n.d.]

From MR. EDWARD G. CHANDLER, San Francisco – *A History of the Law Firm Now Known as Athearn, Chandler, Hoffman & Angell.* San Francisco, 1950.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS, SR., Berkeley – University of California. *Graduates, 1864-1905* ... Berkeley [1905]; Beek, Joseph Allan. *The California Legislature.* [Sacramento, 1942]; Treadwell, Edward F., ed. *The Constitution of the State of California* ... San Francisco, 1931; [Metropolitan Life Insurance Company] *Fiftieth Anniversary of Metropolitan's Pacific Coast Head Office, 1901-1951.* [n.p., 1951]; and Whitman, Frederic Bennett. "*Western Pacific*" – *Its First Forty Years!; a Brief History (1910-1950).* New York, 1950.

From MR. HAL CURTIS, San Francisco – His: *Starr King, Patriot and Mason.* San Francisco, c1951; McMurtrie, Douglas C. *Pioneer Printers of the Far West.* San Francisco, 1933; and his *An Introduction and Supplement to a History of California Newspapers.* San Francisco, 1931.

From MR. HENSLEY S. DAVIS, Napa – [Napa County] *Index of Registrations. Precincts of the County of Napa* ... Napa, 1940.

From MRS. AMY L. DRYSDALE, Georgetown – *Great Register of El Dorado County,* 1896 ... Placerville [1896]; Indexes to the precinct registers of Eldorado County, 1900, 1918, 1920, 1922, 1926, and 1932; and numerous pamphlets and views dealing with the history of Eldorado County.

From MR. SOLOMON DUBLIN, San Francisco – Menus, descriptive folders, and other miscellaneous printed materials relating to Palm Springs.

From MISS BLANCHE GALLOWAY, Madera – Madera County Board of Education. *History of Madera County to Accompany the Course of Study for the Madera County Schools.* Madera, 1939; and [Ebell Club, Long Beach] *The Ebell of Long Beach* ... [Long Beach, 1913]; and several ephemeral materials relating to the history of Madera County including a typewritten history of the Madera County Free Library.

From MRS. HELEN L. GREEN HALLORAN and DOROTHY LE VERE HALLORAN, Berkeley – Beek, Joseph Allan. *The California Legislature.* [Sacramento, 1950]

From MRS. CLARA HOUGH HISKEN, Tehama – Her: *Tehama, Little City of the Big Trees.* New York [c1948]

From ALFRED A. KNOPF, INC., New York City – Lewis, Oscar. *The Lost Years; a Biographical Fantasy.* New York, 1951.

From ALEXANDER T. LEONARD, JR., M.D., San Francisco – Wittenmyer, Clara K., comp. *The Susan Lincoln Mills Memory Book.* San Francisco, 1915.

From MR. HOBART M. LOVETT, Berkeley – Montgomery, Zach. *The Schroder Trial; Bottom Facts and Leading Incidents Connected with the Killing of Dr. Alfred LeFevre* ... [n.p.] c1881; Mood, Fulmer. *An Astrologer From Down East* [biography of William Henry Chaney] Reprint from *The New England Quarterly,* vol. 5, no. 4, 1932; and *University of California Chronicle,* Jan. 1933.

From MRS. DUNCAN McDUFFIE, San Francisco – Adams, Ansel. *Born Free and Equal* ... New York, 1944; Genthe, Arnold. *Old Chinatown; a Photographic Calendar for the Year 1946.* Oakland [1946]; and Golden Gate International Exposition, Department of the Pacific Area. *Our Debt to the Pacific; a Bibliography* ... [n.p., n.d.]

From McGRAW-HILL BOOK COMPANY, INC., New York City – O'Brien, Robert. *California Called Them; a Saga of Golden Days and Roaring Camps.* New York [c1951]

From MR. RALPH L. MILLIKEN, Los Banos – It's May Day in Los Banos Association. *It's May Day in Los Banos; Fiftieth Year, 1949.* Los Banos [1949]

From MRS. HOMER H. MITTEN. Piedmont – California University. *Blue and Gold* ... Oakland, 1878. [Isaac L. Requa's copy]

From MISS HARRIET MUTH, Los Banos – [Anon.] *A Social Manual for San Francisco and Oakland* ... San Francisco, 1884.

From MISS THELMA G. NEAVILLE, Marysville – Merriam, J. Chester. *Bars on the Yuba River.* Dobbins, 1951. [mimeographed]

From MRS. ROGERS P. PARRATT, Berkeley – A. N. Marquis and Company. *Who's Who in America* ... 1916-17, 1922-23, 1924-25, 1926-27, and 1938-39; Guppy, Estella L. *The Story of the Sequoias* ... [Pasadena] c1925; and Gulling, H. M., [ed.] *Commercial Guide of Washoe County, Nevada.* [Reno] c1910.

From MR. W. HAROLD PECK, Woodland – His: *California National Guard; Brief History of Woodland Unit, 1863-1951.* [Woodland] 1951.

From RINEHART & COMPANY, New York City – Corle, Edwin. *The Gila; River of the Southwest.* New York [c1951]

From THE SAILORS UNION OF THE PACIFIC, San Francisco – Its: *Sailors Union of the Pacific, 1885-1950.* [San Francisco, 1950]; Souvenir edition of the *West Coast Sailors,* June 16, 1950; and a photograph of the Sailors Union of the Pacific headquarters, San Francisco.

From MR. SIDNEY L. SCHWARTZ, San Francisco – Sheldon, Mark. *An Autobiographical Sketch.* San Francisco [n.d.]

From MR. CHESTER W. SKAGGS, San Francisco – [Munro-Fraser, J. P.] *History of Sonoma County* . . . San Francisco, 1880.

From MR. GENE M. TANSEY, San Francisco – Bailey, Almira. *Impressions of Seattle.* Seattle, 1940; Jackson, Hartley Everett. *The Good New Days; and How Few the Things* . . . San Francisco, 1940; and McMurtrie, Douglas C. *Pioneer Printers of the Far West.* San Francisco, 1940.

From THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, Berkeley – Heizer, R. G., and M. A. Whipple, comps., eds. *The California Indians; a Source Book.* Berkeley, 1951.

From THE UNIVERSITY OF SANTA CLARA – Walsh, Henry L., S.J. *Mission Santa Clara.* [n.p., n.d.]

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS, San Francisco – Southern California Panama Expositions Commission. *Southern California, Comprising the Counties of Imperial, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, Ventura.* [n.p., c1914]; [Modjeska, Helena] *Memories and Impressions . . . an Autobiography.* New York, 1910; Morse, Clinton R. *California Football History.* Berkeley [c1937]; San Francisco *News Letter,* Sept. 5, 1925; and other memorabilia mainly relating to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MRS. ROSE ASHLEY, Auburn – The San Francisco *Evening Post,* Aug. 30, 1877, and Feb. 2, 9, 13, 23, 1878; and New York *Daily Graphic,* Oct. 13, 1877.

From MR. ELBERT S. CONNER, Santa Barbara – *The Motor Sports World,* v. 1, no. 1, Los Angeles, June 15, 1951.

From MR. DON N. DRIESE, San Diego – Twenty issues of *Union Title Trust Topics,* 1946-51, and continuation.

From MRS. AMY L. DRYSDALE, Georgetown – Eighteen issues of the Georgetown *Gazette,* 1884-1901; and San Francisco *Examiner,* Dec. 25, 1895.

From THE LINDSAY GAZETTE, Lindsay – Its: *Golden Anniversary Edition,* Oct. 19, 1951.

From MISS ANNIE R. MITCHELL, Visalia – Tulare County Historical Society. *Bulletin,* no. 1, Oct. 1948, and continuation.

From MR. CHESTER W. SKAGGS, San Francisco – Twelve issues of San Francisco and Oakland newspapers issued mainly following the 1906 Fire and Earthquake; and *Sunset; the Pacific Monthly,* April 1907.

From MR. JUSTIN G. TURNER, Los Angeles – A subscription to *Autograph Collectors' Journal* through membership in the National Society of Autograph Collectors for the year 1952.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MR. JAMES ABAJIAN, San Francisco – Approximately sixty receipts and invoices, 1858-80, received by Epes Ellery, San Francisco bookseller; and Peter B. Nagle's Freemasons membership certificate, Sonora, 1871.

From MRS. ELMA P. ACHESON, Folsom – Seven items, 1870-1902, dealing mainly with the business career of her grandfather, George Crooks.

From MRS. IRMA KESSLER BURKE, Berkeley – Miscellaneous personal papers, 1867-1946, and mementos of her father, Richard Theodore "Pop" Kessler (1861-1934), owner of the Pabst Cafe, Oakland. Included are two volumes of his *Great Register of*

Our Visiting Thespians, 1912-16, containing hundreds of inscriptions signed by Orpheum Circuit performers and other stage personalities.

From MISS MARY E. CALL, through Dr. Lynn T. White, San Anselmo – Typewritten copy of portions of the diary, letters, and miscellaneous writings, 1850-54, written or received by Asa Cyrus Call at Sonora, Stockton, and on the Merced River near Mariposa.

From MR. ELBERT S. CONNER, Santa Barbara – Contemporary copy, in Spanish, of Bennett C. Riley's proclamation calling for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention in Monterey, 1849; and a tabulation of votes for delegates to the convention, dated Santa Barbara, 1849.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS, SR., Berkeley – Photostatic copies of a plat of a cemetery at Trinity Center and of two way bills of the California and Oregon United States Mail Line's Oregon Stage Company from Portland to Yreka, 1866.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER, San Francisco – Two sketches dealing with Joaquin Murieta by May Stanislaus Corcoran.

From MRS. LOUISE FALKENAU HAAS, Stinson Beach – Additional materials on her father, Louis Falkenau (1838-1923), and his Pacific Chemical Company.

From MR. W. H. HUTCHINSON, Chico – A certified copy of an agreement, 1854, in which James P. Beckwith agrees to relate his adventures to T. D. Bonner who will edit them and turn them over to James L. Davis, publisher.

From MRS. ARTHUR S. MALOON, Oakland – The diary of Mary Eliza Warner kept on her trip overland from Iowa to Sierra County in 1864.

From MRS. ANGIE T. MERRILL, Woodfords – Biographical records of pioneer members of the Merrill and Hawkins families of Alpine County and Nevada; *Early History of Woodfords, Alpine Co., California,* prepared by Mrs. Merrill for the Society; ten photographs illustrative of the history of this region; and an illustrated broadsheet containing general information and a map of Alpine County, 1938.

From MISS HARRIET MUTH, Los Banos – Autograph album of Georgia Fogg, San Francisco and Oakland, 1878; and photographs of Mrs. Nellie (Mann) Turner and her sister, Miss Lizzie Mann.

From MISS BESSIE I. PREHN, Shasta, through Mrs. Helen S. Hogue – Photostatic copy of a portion of August Grotefend's reminiscences of Shasta County, 1849-1854, recorded in a small account book kept by him at Tehama, 1860.

From MR. KERNAN ROBSON, San Francisco – Typewritten copy of B. P. Bairde's diary describing his journey from Elgin, Ill., to Panama and on to Monterey, Santa Cruz, and San Jose in 1862.

From MR. HERBERT L. SMITH, Berkeley – His collection of materials on the history of Bodie consisting of 161 typewritten leaves accompanied by descriptive photographs.

From MR. JUSTIN G. TURNER, Hollywood – Seventy-nine contemporary copies of telegrams sent from Lower Lake, May 13-18, 1875.

From MRS. REGINALD F. WALKER, Oakland – Two letters to her grandfather, Henry Gaines, from Daniel Elihu Hungerford, father of Mrs. John W. Mackay, 1885, 1887, relating to surviving members of their Mexican War company; *Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of New York* . . . Albany, 1849, and *Reports of the Special Committees Appointed to Make Suitable Arrangements for* . . . *the Reception of the First Regiment of New York Volunteers* . . . New York, 1850; *Map Showing the*

Progress of the Public Surveys in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska [together with the route of the Santa Fe Trail therein] . . . Lecompton, K. T., October 1857 . . .; Colonel Hungerford's calling card; and newspaper obituary of Mrs. Mackay, 1928.

From MISS KATHERINE WHEELER, San Francisco – Letter written by John Burroughs, West Park, N.Y., 1910.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MRS. MILDRED BAIRD, Santa Cruz – Photographs of Mrs. Martha Jane "Patty" Reed Lewis and of her daughter, Martha Jane Lewis.

From MR. E. M. CALDERWOOD, Palo Alto – Photograph of the G.A.R. arch on Market St., San Francisco, 1886.

From MRS. ESTHER WEAVER COHRT, Des Moines, Iowa – Two photographs of her father, James B. Weaver.

From MRS. ISABELLE PORTER COLLINS, Sausalito – Photograph of San Francisco's Mayor Elmer Robinson at amateur photographers' meeting in Stern Grove, 1951.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS, SR., Berkeley – Photostatic copy of an early plat *Map of the Town of French Gulch . . . Scale 80 ft. to One Inch;* and two photographs of the Emerson Hotel (1901-15) and of the Stewart House (1860's-1893), both in Susanville.

From MRS. LAURA PARKS GUNDELFINGER, Winfield, Kansas – Portrait of her grandfather, David Parks, Sr., founder of Parks Bar.

From MRS. ELOIS FELICIA HODGES, Berkeley – Photograph of her sister, Glada V. Elden, to accompany the inscription in the Book of Memories.

From MR. HOBART M. LOVETT, Berkeley – Fourteen California quadrangle maps mainly issued by the U.S. Geological Survey; and fifty views of the University of California campus, 1895.

From MRS. DUNCAN McDUFFIE, San Francisco, in memory of DUNCAN McDUFFIE – A framed oil painting, 28 x 39 inches, depicting a California rural scene, by William Keith (1838-1911).

From MR. RALPH L. MILLIKEN, Los Banos – Los Banos Chamber of Commerce. *Los Banos Community Map.* [n.p., n.d.]

From MRS. HOMER H. MITTEN, Piedmont – An engraving of George M. Pullman, *ca.* 1888.

From MRS. ROGERS P. PARRATT, Berkeley – Six maps of California and Nevada.

From MRS. EDNA D. SAMPSON, Grass Valley – Three photographs of Grass Valley buildings and clippings illustrative of Nevada County history.

From MRS. E. P. SCHLICHTMANN, San Leandro – Two scrapbooks containing greeting cards, post card views, and trade cards, *ca.* 1890-1910; three photographs of historic buildings at Chinese Camp, Big Oak Flat, and Groveland; and a Mexican blackjack typical of those used in California in the last century.

From MRS. EDWINA CROUCH SIMPSON, San Francisco – Photograph of her grandmother, Mrs. Sophie Edwin Stevenson, San Francisco actress.

From MR. HERBERT L. SMITH, Berkeley – Twenty-three copies of maps of California missions prepared in 1854 for use in the case of *Joseph S. Alemany* vs. *The United States.*

From MRS. FREDERICK P. VICKERY, San Francisco – Thirty-seven photographs of members of the Coggeshall, Beach, Hartwell, Pope, Rolphe, Rush, and other families, *ca.* 1880-1900.

From MISS KATHERINE WHEELER, San Francisco – Photographs of the steam yacht *Jeannette* and her officers, 1879; and of eight historical personages and scenes of California, mainly issued as Admission Day souvenirs, Sacramento, 1884.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. HARRY W. ABRAHAMS, San Francisco – Souvenir menus, programs, and a photograph linked with the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of the California School of Mechanical Arts, 1945, and the Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts, 1950.

From MR. JACQUES DE LA MONTAGNA, San Francisco – A collection of chessmen, dominoes, and other similar articles used by an old San Francisco family.

From MR. LAWTON KENNEDY, Oakland – Four thousand sheets of rag content paper for the mounting of newspaper clippings; and 8,000 white 3 x 5 in. cards.

From MRS. ELSA MELVILLE, San Francisco – Twenty-six musical and theatre programs, San Francisco, 1928-1951.

From MR. IRVING M. SCOTT, JR., Berkeley – A group of materials preserved by his father-in-law, the Hon. Robert Whitney Waterman, Governor of California, 1887-91, consisting in part of a large, framed portrait of the Governor; about thirty pieces of correspondence, 1880-91, pertaining to the purchase of San Bernardino County lands and the sale of the San Diego, Cuyamaca and Eastern Railroad; about 250 badges, calling cards, programs, announcements, and similar social mementos, 1886-91; mourning rosettes worn at the funeral of Abraham Lincoln; six photographs of California scenes, *ca.* 1887, including views of San Diego, Mission San Diego, and El Cajon Valley; eleven newspapers and periodicals including Independence *Inyo Independent*, Jan. 15, 1881, San Francisco *Daily Stock Report*, Jan. 3, 1880, and San Francisco *Daily Evening Post*, Jan. 26, 1880; *Prospectus* of the California and Nevada Rail Road Company . . . [New York, 1853]; *The Miners' Sermon – The Miners' Ten Commandments* . . . [Downieville, 1853]; and the biennial *Message* of Governor R. W. Waterman . . . Sacramento, 1889.

From MRS. FREDERICK P. VICKERY, San Francisco – Miscellaneous clippings and pamphlet materials pertaining mainly to the history of the Baptist church in the San Francisco Bay area.

Meetings

Speaker: CARROLL D. HALL

Date: June 14, 1951

Mr. Hall began his address, "Some Footnotes to Sutter's Fort," by starting John Augustus Sutter off, on his mobile career, from his home among financially embarrassed Swiss in 1834 toward the wide prospects of the west, stopping here and then starting on, stopping there and starting on again, until, five years later, he reached the Sacramento Valley by way of New Mexico, Oregon, the Sandwich Islands and Alaska. All along the line, Sutter's fortunes were as mobile as his route and as fast as his talk (for he was a great persuader). To this gift should be added his courtly manner, which was as large an asset as his ideas. But by the time of the gold rush, induced by the metal's presence on his own property, he had become cashless; and, although theoretically a millionaire and still courtly, he left his low-roofed castle on the American for the more homogeneous life of a country squire on the Feather — his New Helvetia being passed up for his Hock.

Many of those who heard Mr. Hall's highly interesting account of Sutter and his fort—the successive stages in the career of each — were assailed by a desire to revisit the premises immediately and orient themselves once more with respect to the mark which one foreigner was able to leave upon California history, and to see, with some 150,000 other annual visitors, how much devotion and imagination and energy have gone into the fort's restoration. Among Mr. Hall's writings are *The Heraldry of New Helvetia* (San Francisco, 1945), and *Donner Miscellany* (San Francisco, 1947), both of them Book Club of California publications. Some years earlier, he collaborated with Oscar Lewis in writing *Bonanza Inn* (New York, 1939).

After the close of Mr. Hall's address, Mrs. Carol Green Wilson, recently a visitor to Father Serra's birthplace at Petra, Island of Mallorca, described how warm had been the welcome she received there from local officials and from Mrs. Dina Moore Bowden of San Francisco; and of the desire on the part of certain residents of Petra to have an inn for the particular accommodation of visitors from San Francisco.

Speaker: MISS EFFIE MONA MACK

Date: September 13, 1951

During its centennial this year Nevada is calling to mind a meeting on November 12, 1851, at Mormon Station (now Genoa) in the valley of the Carson. At this meeting the settlers declared their desire to frame a government for themselves, one that would be untrammeled by Utah Territory's apron strings. The decade that followed saw Carson City laid out, and its citizens and those of Genoa taking steps toward formation of a constitution and the presentation of a petition to Congress for an independent territorial government, which came to pass in 1861. In the 1850's, a portion of the settlers of Carson Valley claimed it as part of Utah, whereas others in the valley called themselves residents of California. The subject is of interest because, in general, Californians are not so familiar with the details of the neighborly altercation as to where the fence should go (known as the boundary question) as they are with the westering footfalls of trappers and emigrants whose efforts built up the population of the seaboard state. Close upon the heels of this mid-nineteenth century increase in population, the California bucket, as Miss Mack expressed it, spilled over into Nevada — a spontaneous illustration of the local saying that California might draw to its golden shores the pick of the world, but Nevada drew the pick of California. For all the passing, back and forth, of people and gold and silver across its soil, Nevada has remained conservative, Miss Mack said: it is still on its first constitution, and it refuses to be carried off its feet into spending beyond its means. At the same time it keeps up with the latest in schools, hospitals, orphanages, etc. As to agriculture, a cosmic limitation exists to restrain the dreamy eyed; but there is no reason why they should not speculate on what might happen if the Columbia River were re-routed into Nevada; or perhaps the knowing ones might invent a way to collect some of the Columbia's water as it passed on its imagined way to southern California. One never knows.

Among the early interchanges between Nevada and California was the snowshoed (Canadian style) carrying of mail between Hangtown and Genoa by Fred Aubrey Bishop (a relative of Mr. Aubrey Drury), antedating by some years the Norwegian-style "Snowshoe" Thompson.

In her account of Nevada's efforts to achieve territorial status, Miss Mack spoke of the work of Col. John Reese, trader and landowner; and it was pleasant to have in the audience his granddaughter, Mrs. Edward McGurrin of San Francisco, with her two sons, Edward and Howard.

Miss Mack is the author of *Nevada, a History of the State . . . through the Civil War* (Glendale, 1936), and *Mark Twain in Nevada* (New York, 1947).

Speaker: THE REV. DR. GERALD J. GEARY
Date: September 23, 1951

At the editors' request, the chairman of the Committee on Historic Names and Sites, in charge of arrangements, prepared the following account of the Santa Clara meeting:

On September twenty-third, the Society journeyed to the Mission and University of Santa Clara to celebrate "Santa Clara's Hundred Years" and the close association that has existed between the university and our Society since the latter's founding.

At 10:30 A.M. the campus became ours, with special Californiana exhibits to be seen in the Varsi Library and in the Galtes Museum, and with the kind of welcome that has always awaited travelers at Santa Clara. Even the weather coöperated for the inspection of the campus, the restored mission, the Montgomery Monument, the Ricard Observatory and the grave of Tiburcio Vasquez in the cemetery. At the sound of the ancient bells, many assembled at the mission, where at 11:30 Mass was celebrated by the president of the university, the Reverend Herman J. Hauck, S.J.

At 12:30 a luncheon in Nobili Hall was participated in by about 150 members and guests. There was to be an invocation by the Reverend Henry L. Walsh, S.J., but, owing to illness, he could not be present and we greatly missed the university's beloved historian. The president of the university extended welcome to the guests and Mr. Aubrey Drury, president of the California Historical Society, responded.

At 1:30 we gathered at Adobe Lodge and there amid the halls that once resounded to the voices of the pioneers, the Rev. Dr. Gerald J. Geary of Saratoga addressed us on "Santa Clara's Hundred Years." Father Geary is a devoted student of California history and has written much along this line.

The last event of the day occurred at 2:30 when we dedicated a *Sequoia sempervirens* to commemorate our long friendship with the college and university. The tree, raised in the Santa Cruz Mountains, which supplied the original mission timbers, was unveiled by President Drury, who, after a few remarks, introduced Dr. Edwin A. Beilharz, head of the university's history department, who spoke on the history of the university and of our Society.

As is often the case, the name of the one most responsible for the success of our visit remained off the program — so here are our thanks to the university's librarian, the Reverend Edward R. Boland, S.J.

A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.

Speaker: AUBREY NEASHAM
Date: October 11, 1951

The subject of California's linkage with other areas, this time to the north, was carried further during Mr. Neasham's account of his visit to Alaska and Yukon Territory, April-May 1951, in pursuance of his duties as regional historian of the National Park Service.

A modern tie-in, as Mr. Neasham pointed out, is the wording of the mileage-markers along the Alaska Highway. Had the markers been installed at the time of the gold rushes of 1887 (Forty-Mile Creek), 1896 (Klondike), or 1900 (Nome), the wording would have added another notch to the homesickness of prospectors from California. In the size of their mass-movement, these prospectors constituted the greatest of the historic links between the two regions, a link that has been strengthened by the fact that the bodies of those who perished during their search for gold are buried in the sub-Arctic cemeteries.

Preceding the taking out of gold had been the shipment of Alaska cod to California, and a California company had imported ice from that area. Still earlier had been explorers on their way to Alaska from California and vice versa, and whose names, or the names of scientists attached to their expeditions, appear almost as frequently on northern maps — Malaspina Glacier, Vancouver Island, Kotzebue Sound — as they do, for example, in lists of California plants. Hudson's Bay Company ship-captains and those of the Russian American Company knew the harbors of Stikeen (Stikine), Sitka, and Kodiak, as well as they knew the California anchorages. There was similarity, too, between the Alaskan establishments and the headquarters at Fort Ross, California. One glance at Sir George Simpson's account of his visit to the Hudson's Bay Company's outposts in 1841-42 (*e.g.*, his call on Governor Etholine at Sitka before coming to San Francisco) shows also how close was the connection, especially when one remembers that the question, whether California wheat was clean enough, came up in reference to the British company's contract to supply stated amounts to the Russian posts in Alaska.

Mr. Neasham's lantern slides enabled him to show the early administrative buildings, churches, road beds, flat-bottomed river steamers (the "Yukoner"), locomotives (the "Duchess"), and the installations, along with present-day dredgers and bulldozers, of former operating companies—relics that have survived until today, in spite of Indian attacks, erosion by the sea as at Nome and by rivers as at Fort Yukon, fires, and the modern infiltration of the armed forces as at Kodiak. From Juneau, the capital of Alaska at the mouth of Gold Creek, on to Skagway, the shipping-point for White Horse and "high in relics" of the rush to the Klondike, the speaker took his audience down-river past Dawson, Klondike, Fort Yukon, Fairbanks on the Tanana (tributary of the Yukon), and Nulato, to St. Michael on the sea, the shipping center, in turn, for persons and equipment going up the Yukon to the Klondike. There were views of Kenai and of Kodiak, headquarters of the Russian American Company until 1805 when the change was made to Sitka; and pictures of the immense salmon fishing-grounds, closely tied to California's economic history. And there were pictures also of beavers' lodges. Whether the beavers had been California-born or not, their installations follow historic patterns, and Mr. Neasham's listeners found his slides of natural objects as entertaining and instructive as the rest of his lecture.

Book of Remembrance

In the December 1948 QUARTERLY appeared, for the first time, a list of twelve names, in whose memory gifts had been made to the Library Fund. Since that time the number of names now inscribed in the "Book of Remembrance," which is on view at the Society's headquarters, has increased. The names are arranged below, alphabetically, according to the year of contribution.

1945
William Cavalier
1947
Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver
1948
Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden

Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Harvey Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould
Emily West Knowland
Ethel A. Krook
Abbie Hyde Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
Helen Flint Lyman
William O'Hara Martin
Haig Patigian
Barbara Peters
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Margaret James Porter
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
J. D. Sweeney
Dixon Wecter
Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
Julia Stamper Berman
Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Eleanor Smith Boone
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Glada V. Elden
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Estelle Lyon Fay
Lowell E. Hardy
Grant James Hunt
Emma T. Kessler
Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

New Members

(October-November 1951)

Name	Address	Proposed by
	Active	
Arnold M. Baldwin	Santa Cruz	Mrs. William Frederick Steele
B. A. Banker	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Richard J. Berry	Arcadia	F. Wesley Davies
Mrs. Grace J. Daynes	South Pasadena	Charles P. Yale
Richard J. Elkus	Redwood City	Porter Sesnon
Mrs. H. W. Furlong	La Jolla	Miss Marian O. Hooker
Mrs. Louise Falkenau Haas	Stinson Beach	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Marco F. Hellman	San Francisco	Edgar M. Kahn
E. R. Holabird	Altadena	Membership Committee
Col. Cullen Jones, U.S.A. Ret.	San Rafael	Membership Committee
Miss Florence E. Marvin	Morgan Hill	Aubrey Drury
Mrs. Fred Matthiesen	Santa Cruz	Frank S. Richards
Howard B. Melendy	Eureka	Membership Committee
Miss Fanny Jeffers Pray	Berkeley	Mrs. Morris Milbank
Rice Institute Library	Houston, Texas	Membership Committee
Mrs. J. F. Shuman	Berkeley	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Miss Mable Wardwell	Berkeley	Frank S. Richards
George S. Williams	Alameda	Anson S. Blake

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

J. N. Bowman will be remembered as the author of "The Peraltas and Their Houses," in the September 1951 QUARTERLY, pp. 217-31.

For biographical notes on H. F. Raup and Harold F. Taggart, previous contributors to the QUARTERLY, see the December 1948 number, pp. 380-81.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Richard J. Berry, a native of Royse City, Rockwell County, Texas, came to California with his parents in 1903, some half dozen years after they had made the journey for the purpose of holding the water rights at Acton (Arrastre Canyon on the north slope of Mt. Gleason), while the owner went east on a nine-month business trip. Mr. Berry's interest in history began, he says, when he attended an adult evening class at Glendale high school and heard his instructor recount Father Serra's plea to Portolá at San Diego to wait just one more day for the supply ship to arrive. How much depended on the success of Father Serra's plea has lingered in his mind, as have the vistas into the state's past gained from his reading of Herbert E. Bolton's *Outpost of Empire* and other books.

Mrs. Grace J. Daynes' maternal grandfather was Edwin S. Sutherland, member of the San Francisco firm of Jones, Wooll & Sutherland from 1855 until their business was purchased by the present art-goods company, Gumps. By 1864 the older firm had established itself in its own brick building on Market Street between Seventh and Eighth, where it manufactured frames for mirrors, portraits and pictures, and also imported fine engravings from Europe and artists' materials. The *San Francisco Business Guide* for 1864-65 said of Jones, Wooll & Sutherland: "Their facilities for filling orders for every description of work in their line are not surpassed by any other house on the Pacific coast." Mrs. Daynes was born in Golden Gate, then a part of Oakland.

Mrs. Herbert W. (Martha Rice) Furlong, a native of Sacramento, is the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Henry Houghton Rice and granddaughter of "Judge" Robert Thompson, an account of whose life appeared in the September 1951 QUARTERLY, pp. 237-48. Mr. Furlong's parents were Capt. Matthew Furlong from New Hampshire and Clarissa Durant Langley Furlong from Virginia, who were married in 1870 in Santa Barbara, home port of the captain's ship, the schooner *Eustace*.

Louis Falkenau, father of Mrs. Louise Falkenau Haas, was "proprietor" (as given by the San Francisco *Directory* of 1895) of the state assay office and was later associated with Henry G. Hanks in the Pacific Chemical Works of San Francisco. According to contemporary opinion, expressed in an unidentified clipping in Mrs. Haas' possession, the importance of this company's activities was "very great" and the plant "a credit to the state." One of the more than personal catastrophes caused by the San Franciso fire of 1906, Mrs. Haas tells us, was the destruction of the volumes containing her father's laboratory records.

Col. Cullen Jones, U.S.A. Ret. (Stanford, 1916), who is at present superintendent of the San Rafael Military Academy, has devoted much of his time to studying and writing on the military history of the west. He has written poetry, also, tending, as he says, toward western themes – "Mirage," for instance, and "A Desert Tragedy," both published in the *Cornhill Magazine*, London. Other poems of his have appeared in the New York *Times*, etc.

There were twelve children in the family of John M. and Nellie Clark Melendy of Eureka, one of whom is the Society's new member, Howard Burton Melendy. After finishing his schooling at Eureka, he was employed by the state as an engineer in the highways division and continued in that work until 1945, when he became chief deputy county assessor of Humboldt County. In his free time, he is compiling a history of Humboldt Lodge No. 79, F. & A. M. As the lodge was organized in 1854, a great deal of research on the early members has been necessary. He has found among the records of the county several documents that throw light on short-lived Klamath County (1853-74).